

HISTORY OF MUSLIM EDUCATION

VOL. II

(1751 TO 1854 A.D.)

By

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FOREWORD

By

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FOREWORD

The All Pakistan Educational Conference, realising the importance and urgency of the reorientation of the educational policy of the newly created State of Pakistan on the basis of Islamic ideology, started publishing books on education, the value and utility of which was soon recognised by scholars and educationists of the country.

The old shackles of an imperialistic system of national education on which the people of the Sub-continent had, for about 200 years, been sucked had proved a dismal failure and it was essential to revitalise and remodel the uninspiring educational system to suit the temperament and mental requirements of an aspirant, virile community, reverberating with the zeal of effervescent national spirit and yearning for progressive scientific and technical advancement.

The All Pakistan Educational Conference, true to its nation-building ideals and cultural mission, conceived a bold plan of bringing out a series of four volumes, in which to lay down the broad outlines of the new educational policy, for which demand was rapidly increasing in Pakistan.—*The sine qua non* of the creation and existence of the new Islamic homeland is spiritual basis and ideological background of the political and administrative conception of the country. As expressed by Mirza Ali Azhar Barlas in the 1st Volume of the "History of Muslim Education", the proposed volumes were to give a sound background of the Islamic system of education in formulating educational policy of the Government. It was also the object of the Conference authorities to publish a series of books which would be a useful source of information to those who look to the scholars of Pakistan and their works on educational and cultural subjects in order to have clear and true insight in the precepts and

practice of the great religion of Islam. It is gratifying that the Conference, notwithstanding limited means, has succeeded in bringing out a set of more than 75 books, in Urdu and English, which have been in constant demand in foreign countries, as well as among research students, teachers and students of colleges in Pakistan.

The first volume of the series was published in 1968 at a time when the organisation was facing financial crisis, as a result of cuts in the Government Grant-in-Aid due to War Emergency. This Volume covered the entire period of Muslim Rule in India (712 to 1750 A.D.). This period brought to an end an era of brilliant intellectual advancement and cultural glories which terminated with the death of the Emperor Mohammed Shah in 1748; though the light of political prestige of the Mughal Rulers continued to cast subdued rays yet for a little more than a century. This century also witnessed the infiltration and aggressive intervention in the affair of the Sub-continent by the foreigners, resulting on further acceleration of the pace of the Mughal break-up.

It was in the latter half of the 18th century that seeds of constitutional and social changes of far-reaching importance were sown in the soil of India by the British East India Company to serve its political objectives. The beginning of a new framework of educational system, which was to develop on the basis of Parliamentary decisions, with little or no regard to the interest of the children of the soil. This was a very critical time for the Muslims, who found the ground slipping from underneath their feet, while they themselves were entangled helplessly in a whirlpool of selfish struggle and faction fighting. The result was that they had to face another long period (1754—1870) of educational backwardness, political humiliation and economic ruination before the dynamic leadership of the late Sir Syed Ahmed Khan who, by his successful efforts, chalked for them the right track of educational and political salvation.

This 2nd Volume which is now placed in the hands of our readers and patrons deals with the period of Muslim downfall in India and describes briefly the administrative wire-pullings and political intrigues of British Diplomacy to impose upon the people of India,

especially the Muslims an educational system which was clearly detrimental to our cultural and intellectual advancement.

This Volume is being published after the lapse of nearly 5 years, which is rather unusual and regrettable in view of its demand and its value. This needs a brief explanation. The delay occurred, firstly, on account of the protracted illness of the author who had been working on it and collecting material for it rather with unsparing pains. Soon after his recovery when he returned to the work, he found many hurdles in his efforts to collect the scattered threads of sources which could be utilized in piecing together in the shape of a book. Other difficulties had also to be encountered for giving it final shape. Financial difficulties proved a hard nut to crack; forbidding rates of printing material—non-availability of quality paper, etc.,—all intrigued to prevent the appearance of the book early. It is unfortunate that, in spite of our earnest desire, we could not give the book an attractive appearance which it deserved. The quality of paper and printing leave much to be desired, while the format of the book is neither too good.

I take liberty to emphasise here the supreme need of arranging to make easily available for the research scholars and writers of note the material comprised in the official letters, reports and minutes and other official and non-official documents of the British East India Company, the Court of Directors, dealing with the problems and expansion of education in provinces and districts; reports of the Education Commissions appointed for special inquiries by the Government of India. There is particularly a great need of collection of such material on the problems of Muslim Education and how the Government of the Company and, later on, the British Government dealt with such important matters and with what effect. Such valuable information printed or manuscript is found in abundance in the State archives, private libraries of our neighbouring country and is thrown open for consultation and use to seekers of information for the mere asking. But the people of Pakistan have no such facilities anywhere. We urgently need a Public Library packed with regularly arranged and classified useful literature on education in every big town as well as in the universities and other important

centres. The State Archives can, for no reason, ignore setting up such information centre both for public and private use.

The next two volumes which we intend to publish shall comprise as follows :—

——— History of Muslim Education in India, Vol. III (1854 to 1947 A.D.).

——— History of Education in Pakistan, Vol. IV (1947—up to the present time).

Work on the above volumes is continuing and it is hoped that with the patronage of the Central Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan and active co-operation of our colleagues in the Academy of Educational Research, All Pakistan Educational Conference, we shall soon succeed in accomplishing this stupendous task.

The warm reception given by the scholars to the 1st Volume and persistent demand for subsequent volumes encourages us to hope that this Volume II will fully meet the needs of students, teachers, specially of the Teachers Training Colleges and Schools of our country.

Karachi:
25th June 1973.

SYED ALTAF ALI BRELVI,
Director.

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CHAPTER I

European Adventurers in India

1. Trade relations between India and Western Countries. 2. Discovery of Sea-route and the arrival of Portuguese in India. 3. The Portuguese rulers. 4. —their failure and its causes. 5. —their legacy. Beginning of Modern Education. 6. St. Xavier. 7. Indigenous system of education eclipsed. 8. The Dutch. 9. —at Hoogly. 10. The French set up trade factories in India. 11. —they start schools. 12. Coming of the Danes. 13. The British. 14. The British East India Company.

Commercial relations between East and West had existed in ancient times through the Leavant and Egypt, and India had a considerable share of this trade. Her commodities found a ready market in Rome and Mid-Eastern and European countries. But, with the rise of Islam, this commercial intercourse between the East and West suffered a severe set-back. The wandering Arabs under the inspiring influence of Islam spread their conquests far and wide in Asia Minor, Europe and Africa and also captured the avenues of land and sea commerce and trade. The Western countries, thus deprived of their old channels of trade, set out to explore new outlets of oversea trade. The reports of the fabulous wealth, splendour and rich resources of India and other Eastern countries had begun to reach their ears and excite their cupidity and love of adventure. The religious wars among the Christians and Muslims, known as the Crusades, worked as a strong stimulus to

Trade relations
between India
and Western
Countries.

the Europeans to go ahead so as to leave the Muslims behind in the race of cultural and material advancement.

Discovery of
Sea - route and
the arrival of
Portuguese in
India.

The credit of discovering a new sea-route to encompass the Muslims goes to the navigational activities of the rulers and the people of Portugal, a small kingdom in the Iberian peninsula in Western Europe. The Portuguese sea captain Vasco De Gama, at the head of a naval and commercial expedition, succeeded in rounding the Cape of Good Hope and landing at Calicut on the Western coast of India. The Portuguese were thus the first European nation to discover India by sea, which they soon claimed as their colony beyond the sea by the right of discovery and issuance of a Papal Decree. Vasco De Gama, by his tact and costly presents, which he had brought from Portugal, established friendly relations with the Zamorin, the Raja of Calicut.

The Zamorin was greatly pleased with the Portuguese and showed special liking for European goods, which they had brought with them. He not only gave permission to the foreign new-comers for carrying on trade, but also sought their armed assistance in his wars against his rival, the Raja of Cochin. He had allowed them to set up settlements at the Malabar coast in India. The Portuguese thus established their own bases on Indian coasts and kept armed soldiers to protect their commercial centres.

Thus a little more than a quarter of century before the foundation of the Mughal empire in India by the famous empire-builder of the 16th century, Zahir-uddin Mohammad Babar, who entered India by the traditional land route on the North-West Frontier of India, a Portuguese sea captain of a mercantile expedition laid the foundation of a European kingdom on the soil of India. Portugal, through her capable, enterprising

Governors succeeded in carving out a considerable state under her domination. The significance of this achievement is not confined to Portugal alone, who failed to extend or perpetuate her political gains. Following in the wake of Portuguese adventurers other enterprising nations of the West, possessing greater resources and stronger fleets, entered India from the route discovered by the Portuguese pioneers and succeeded in keeping the Sub-continent under their economic servitude and political bondage. The main Portuguese settlement in India was Goa which they had wrested from the Sultan of Bijapur in 1510 with the collusion of the Hindu state, Vijayanagar. Goa became the headquarters of the Portuguese settlements which position it maintained obstinately during the period of British suzerainty over India and even till long after the Sub-continent had attained independence.

The Portuguese Governors sent to India after Vasco De Gama, specially Francisco de Almedia and Albuquerque, were, no doubt, great organisers and statesmen, but they set up virtual reign of terror within their jurisdiction with the main object of forcing Christianity upon the natives and persecuting the Muslims in particular, whom they had singled out for brutal victimisation as a retribution for their co-religionists' alleged excesses in the wars of the Crusades. +1

The Portuguese
rulers.

But the Portuguese domination was only short-lived. They soon alienated the sympathy of the Indians, specially the Muslims who were, then, the ruling race in

—their failure
and its causes.

+1 The Portuguese had declared that they came to the East with the cross in one hand and sword in another—in a typical Crusading spirit. They introduced Inquisition in Goa in 1550. "It was said that the Portuguese Governors were appointed in the first year, they robbed the country in the second year and packed in the third year." 'The British in the Sub-continent' by Ghulam Mustafa Shah, p. 31 (1960).

India. Their policy of subordinating political and commercial interests to religious and propagational zeal soon recoiled upon them and made it difficult to stabilise and consolidate their small possessions. The main object of the Portuguese was to spread Christianity and to suppress the Muslims. They established, no doubt, several social and educational institutions, but they were converted into agencies of persecution and excesses committed in the name of religion.

For political success and territorial aggression the Portuguese depended upon the moral support of Hindu and active help of the Hindu kingdom, Vijayanagar, in the south, the rulers of which were determined to destroy the Muslim Sultanates of the Deccan. But the crushing defeat of the Raja of Vijayanagar at Talikota in 1565 at the hands of the Muslim Sultans precipitated the downfall of the Portuguese. The advent of other foreign nations, specially the English and the Dutch, who professed Protestant form of the Christian faith, was another important event that led to the failure of the Portuguese enterprise in empire-building, in the Subcontinent.

The propagational efforts of the Portuguese missionaries furnish a remarkable instance of devoted and sincere work for religion and also inhuman brutalities perpetrated in the name of religion upon those who refused to accept an alien faith. We explore, in vain, the events of the Medieval Indian history for a parallel of such acts of contradictory nature.

The Portuguese left behind them an unedifying record of racial animosity and religious persecution of the native population, which has bedevilled the memory for ever. But they may be said to have made the beginning of modern education in India and familiarise

—their legacy.
Beginning of
Modern Education.

the Indians with the system of instruction, which became their lot in time to come. They were responsible for bringing many Jesuit teachers and preachers to India to look after educational institutions, which had been started at the Portuguese settlements for instructing the Portuguese and the Indian converts. The Portuguese missionaries, sent to India as teachers, used these schools for enticing the poor Indian pupils to Christianity. They also made independent efforts to spread Christian faith among ignorant people.

The most eminent of these early missionaries was St. Xavier, who did important work in spreading education besides devoting his full energy to the preaching of Christian faith (Roman Catholicism). In pursuit of his mission, he covered on foot long distances over towns and villages. He also produced voluminous literature and distributed it in every village. Under his direction a number of Jesuit colleges were opened for higher education at several places, the first and most important being located at Goa. This college developed into a university and a large number of students got admission to it. This was followed by other institutions for higher education at several different places including Northern India. Bernier, the French traveller, has made mention of a college for the Jesuit priests. The Emperor Akbar had invited them to his court and lavished praises upon Christian faith and royal favours upon Jesuit fathers. His close intimacy and patronage had led the Jesuit Mission to put credence to the rumoured conversion of Akbar to Christianity. +1

St. Xavier.

The Portuguese established a printing press also at Goa in 1556 followed by more presses at Augamale, Ambalcalla, Panikkayal and Cochin, where booklets and

+1 "Akbar the Great," by V. A. Smith. Dr. L.P. Rawat, "History of Indian Education," pp. 177-78.

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tracts on Christian religion were printed and distributed free and lavishly among villagers.

About St. Xavier it is said that "he used to walk through the streets ringing a bell and inviting all to embrace Christianity. A copy of Christian Compendium prepared by him was placed in every village."⁺¹ St. Xavier's companion, Robert Nobile, had his headquarters at Madura; he advertised himself as a Brahmin from the West bringing back to India the lost Vedas. He put on the robe of a hermit (Sanyasi). The Christian missionaries allowed the converts to retain their caste.⁺²

But the educational and the proselytising activities of the Portuguese, whatever their good or bad results, did one irretrievable harm. It resulted in the eclipse of the indigenous system of education which had served the needs of the people of India so well for a long time.

Under the influence of the Portuguese, the Islamic and Hindu types of schools lost their old footing and with the coming of the British and their patronage of English educational system it completely disappeared. Another more serious effect was that the Jesuit priests and missionaries introduced a special esoteric brand of educational programme, which served the purpose and main objective of conversion of the natives to Christianity and paving the path of social perversion among the future generations of the people of India. These factors of their educational activities detracted from any virtue or utility which the system possessed and made their contribution for the future educational

⁺¹ Dr. S. M. Mukerjee, "History of Education in India," p. 156, 1961.

⁺² N. N. Law, "Promotion of Learning under the East India Company", pp. 102-4.

organisation too insignificant to be worth remembering.⁺¹

The Portuguese were driven out of India by the Dutch. Holand as a result of her unequal but determined religious struggle against France and Spain emerged as a strong Protestant republic in Europe at the beginning of the seventeenth century. She possessed a strong navy and had commercial interests in every part of the world. The maritime adventures and religious zeal of the people—the Dutch—worked as a stimulus for the Government of Holand to fit out expeditions for exploring new regions for extending their commercial activities. Trading Companies were established for

The Dutch.

⁺¹ It seems strange, rather pitiable that rulers of Muslim provincial kings or the Mughal rulers of Delhi failed to realise the grave dangers of European maritime expansion in the Indian waters and did nothing to check the growing political influence of the Portuguese. The famous ruler of Gujrat Mohammed Beghra (1458-1511) was the first and one of the very few Indian rulers to attempt the break up of the Portuguese power. But single handed he could not succeed. (See "Modern Indian History," by Sarkar and Datta, Vol. I, Pages 12-13). Akbar, the Great, of Delhi seems to have seen through their Machiavallian designs, but he preferred to confront them by a policy of appeasement which was rather puerile. He, instead of giving a short shrift to Portuguese open plots of land grabbing and consolidation, made his heavy mace fall on the Muslim Sultans of Golconda and Bijapur, who were working in their own way to baffle Portuguese attempts, 'to grow into Indian power'—besides capturing the sea-borne trade of India. But Akbar was more interested in the traditional policy of confrontation between the North and South, the direct outcome of geographical facts.

Shahjahan dealt with them and inflicted chastisement upon them as they deserved. In the words of Sarkar and Datta, "The Portuguese deserved punishment for their nefarious activities." (See "Modern Indian History," pp. 113-14 and 138).

Indigenous system of education eclipsed.

setting up commercial centres at convenient places on the soil of India, the fame of whose wealth and enormous resources, ready to be exploited, had spread like wild fire in Western countries through the Portuguese as well as other European visitors.

—at Hoogly.

The Dutch lost no time in establishing trading concerns at Hoogly and Chinsara on the coast of Bengal. They were wise enough to profit from the failure of the Portuguese and abstained from forcing their religious views on the Indians. Their ecclesiastical activities were mainly confined to reclaiming Roman Catholics to Protestantism. But they established schools for the education of the children of their servants, the doors of which were open for Indian children also.

The Dutch had to face strong opposition from the English merchants, who had also settled down at Hoogly. Hence, finding better prospects in the Malaya Archipelago, they diverted their activities to founding a Dutch empire there, and in this they succeeded remarkably.

The French set up trade factories in India.

The French were not slow to follow the example of the earlier European trade hunters in the East, especially the Portuguese. Under the brilliant regime of King Louis XIV and at the initiative of his famous minister Colbert, the French East India Company was established in 1664 for opening trade with India. The French sailors opened their factories at Madras, Chandernagar, Pondicherry and several other places.

—they start schools.

They set up schools at each centre of their commercial activities. These were mostly primary schools where education was imparted by Indian teachers through the medium of native languages. A missionary teacher was also appointed to preach religion to the French, Portuguese and un-Christian Indian boys, who were entitled to get admission to

these schools, and were encouraged to go to the schools with the fine bait of food, clothes, books and other necessary paraphernalia for educational purpose.⁺¹

The French made stupendous efforts to establish their empire in India in the teeth of British opposition, but working by fits and starts and having no definite policy to pursue, they could not succeed in spite of such brilliant and capable officers as Dupleix Bussy.⁺²

The people of Denmark, the Danes—a Protestant adventurous nation, fond of commercial and naval activities, and filled with zeal for religious propaganda—appeared on Indian scene in the seventeenth century and opened factories at Tranquebar near Tanjore in Madras and at Serampur in Bengal. The Danish political adventure though soon suffered eclipse, yet their religious and educational efforts continued to achieve success. Their selfless work received praise and recognition even from hostile quarters and proved of lasting nature.

Coming of the Danes.

The Danes established many schools and, curiously, several elementary schools were also reserved for Muslims in which they were taught through local languages. The educational activities of the Danish missionaries will be described in relation to the educational policy of the English East India Company, as with the loss of political powers they had joined British missionaries to be able to carry on their

⁺¹ Dr. L.P. Rawat, OP. cit, p. 178. like the Portuguese the French also started Catholic school in each district where Christian doctrines were taught through local languages. For converting non-Christian boys in the schools temptations were offered in the shape of food, clothes and books.

T.N. Siquere "The Education in India," 1952, p. 27.

⁺² See. P.E. Roberts, 'Historical Geography of India'.

instructional and propagational work under the patronage of the British Government.

The British.

With their resounding victory over the Spanish Armada in 1588 and as a result of the rising sense of their political and national security, the English also redoubled their naval and commercial enterprises upon which they had embarked under the inspiring rule of Queen Elizabeth. The English sea-adventurers had already circumnavigated the world and discovered routes to Africa and Asia. The reports of successes of the Portuguese and other nations in the East both in founding territories, in promoting Christianity in the lands of the 'heathens', in amassing wealth and securing useful raw material, had excited the imagination and avarice of the English people.

The British East India Company.

In 1599 a number of British merchants assembled in a meeting to constitute a trading company for opening trade with Eastern countries and on 31st December 1600 they secured a charter from Queen Elizabeth. Thus the English East India Company was chartered as a Joint Stock Company and began its activities. The Company owed its existence to the adventurous spirit of the great queen, her hostility to Spain, and in the amalgamation of Portugal with Spain; naval expeditions under the supervision of the Company proceeded to the Indian coasts in search of trade and succeeded in setting up factories at Bombay, Madras and Hoogly in Bengal.

The East India Company in the beginning of its career was solely concerned with promotion of trade and commerce. It devoted all its resources and energy to develop England's overseas trade with the East and to prevent other rival nations of Europe from acquiring economic or political hold on any portion of this vast Sub-continent. For

more than a century and a half the servants of the Company were solely anxious to exploit the economic sources of a rich but rapidly declining country to the utmost. For this purpose, they adopted coercive measures to encompass complete economic strangulation and impoverishment of Indian masses.

For the safeguard of their commercial interests against their rivals they fortified and strengthened their trade settlements and engaged in continuous warfare with the European interlopers, specially the French. The chaotic condition of the country caused by progressive decline of the Mughal supremacy after the death of Aurangzeb furnished the Company with an opportunity to interfere in internal politics and internecine warfare of the independent regional states, which had arisen on the ruins of the Mughal empire. The Company, therefore, adopted a semi-political character but unlike her foreign rivals it did not lose sight of her trade and commercial interests, which always continued to engage the primary attention of the servants and Directors of the Company. The result was "That the Company ultimately emerged triumphant from all its struggles with European rivals and founded an empire in India."¹ The French were finally defeated in 1763. Earlier the Battle of Plassey in 1757 had toppled down the shaking structure of Mughal hegemony in North India. The process of the extension of political influence and territorial aggrandizement of the trading concern of a small foreign nation was completed by the victory at Buxar in 1764, which forced the figure-head monarch of Delhi, Shah Alam, to offer to Clive the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in 1765.

¹ S. Nurullah and Naik, OP. cit, p. 51.

Thus the Company in the words of Dr. Balkrishna became a state functions—executive, judicial, legislative and economic +1.” The responsibility of providing education to the Indians under its authority also devolved upon the Company. But political considerations and pressure of the shareholders of the Company compelled the Directors to refuse to undertake this responsibility till the beginning of the nineteenth century, as will be explained and discussed in the following chapters.

+1 Dr. Balkrishna, “The Indians Constitution”, pp. 34-35, quoted by Messrs. Nurullah and Naik, p. 51, 1951 edition.

CHAPTER II

Beginning of the Educational Activity.

(1600—1765 A.D.)

1. Change in the fundamental policy of face of the Company—emphasis on religious propagation—its causes. 2. Missionaries entrusted with educational-propagational work. 3. Missionaries’ emphasis on propagational efforts. 4. School founded in Madras. 5. Danish Missionaries Schwartz. 6. —John Sullivan.

The British East India Company, as already mentioned, had been brought into existence for the purpose of opening and establishing trade with India. In pursuit of this objective, the Company in the first hundred and fifty years confined its activities to commerce and trade and, consequently, was chiefly engaged in struggle with its European rivals. Yet it could not help mould its fundamental policy in response to the peculiar political conditions at home and the unescapable trends inherited from the preceding European settlers in India, specially the Portuguese and the Dutch. The Reformation in England had created a flame of religious fervour among the Protestants and Roman Catholics both; the effects of which were felt wherever the followers of these faiths were found.

But the existence, in India of rival European groups and the religious propaganda carried on by them chiefly through the agency of education forced the Company to reshape its policy. The Portuguese missionaries and officers, as a result of their policy of forced conversion of the natives and intermarriages, had left a large population of the Roman Catholics in South India. The French, who were also Catholics and followed similar policy, created a serious problem. These factors proved a potential

Change in the fundamental policy of the Company—emphasis on religious propagation—its causes.

source of danger for the British East India Company. The British looked upon the Catholics as their national enemy and the Company considered it an important duty to convert the Catholics to Protestant faith, and also to win a large number of converts from among the natives. The suppression of Catholicism in those days was essential for the survival of the British Company, as was the destruction of the commercial activity and political influence of the two Catholic rivals—Portuguese and the French—in India.

The Hindus, specially of the low caste, who were in big majority in the south, offered a big temptation to the British missionaries. It also enflamed their Christian spirit to relieve the Hindus from their miserable social and economic plight and save them from inhuman treatment at the hands of high caste Hindus. The missionaries, therefore, were encouraged to spread their propagational and educational networks in the south. The Directors of the Company expressly urged that Christianity should be spread by all possible measures and they sent missionaries to India for this purpose. The Company, as a matter of policy, no less than for want of experience, shirked assuming responsibility for providing education to the Indians living in the territories under their authority. They, therefore, welcomed the advent of missionaries in India and encouraged them in their educational efforts, side by side with their propagational activities.⁺¹

⁺¹. The Directors of the East India Company, as early as 1659, had begun sending missionaries to India for the sake of propagating Christian religion there. But in course of time the Company relinquished this policy based on an inordinate fondness to spread Christianity. Dr. L.P. Rawat, Op. cit, pp. 180 - 81.

In this way the cardinal principle of the policy of the Company was changed and it was now conducted on religious lines. To give special training to the priests, who were deputed to India for evangelical work, the Department of Arabic was established at the University of Oxford.⁺¹ It was to give greater stress to this policy of entrusting the work of propagation and education into the hands of missionaries that a new clause was added to the Company's Charter renewed in 1698 by which the Company was directed to appoint religious ministers who were required to "apply themselves to learn native languages of the area of the country, where they shall reside, the better to enable them to instruct the *Gentoo* (Hindus) that shall be the servants or slaves of the same Company or of their agents in the Protestant religion."⁺² The Company was also directed to provide schools for soldiers and workers in factories and to make special arrangement for the education of *Gentus* (Hindus) of lower classes.⁺³

⁺¹ Noorullah and Naik, OP. cit. p. 50. Edition 1951. Dr. L.P. Rawat, p. 180. Mr. N. N. Law in his book, "Promotion of Learning in India" by early European settlers, says that as early as 1614 steps were taken for the recruitment of Indians for the promotion of Gospel among their countrymen and of imparting to these missionaries such education as would enable them to carry out effectively the purpose for which they were enlisted. Mr. Law also affirms that an Indian convert, who was later on Christened Peter by King James I of England, was sent to England for education in the Christian doctrines.

⁺² Noorullah and Naik, OP. cit, p. 53.

⁺³ This obviously shows that the Company was expected to spread the Gospel among the Hindu employees of the Company at least, if not among the people as a whole. Noorullah and Naik, OP. cit, p. 53. Indirectly it also illustrates the attitude of callousness and hostility towards the Muslims, who were sought to be kept

Missionaries entrusted with educational-propagational work.

The Charter of 1698 encouraged missionaries to enter India and settle there in large number. They came primarily with the object of ministering to the spiritual needs of the Company's servants and converting the millions of India, just as the Portuguese and others had tried to do before them. The missionaries were keen on undertaking religious propaganda and carry the message of the holy scripture to every door. But to gain their objective they found it more feasible and conducive to speedier results to start schools at different places including rural areas, which will serve as convenient centres from which Christian message could be communicated to children and their parents. The following remarks of an eminent missionary give an idea of the advantages, which the missionaries had in view in opening schools for utilising them as vehicles of religious propaganda :—

"In commencing their operations, missionaries have generally seen the propriety and importance of establishing schools. One reason for them is to educate the minds of the people, so that they may be more capable of understanding and appreciating the facts and evidences, the doctrines and duties of the scriptures. Another reason for them is to increase the influence of the missionaries with the people,

deliberately deprived of the benefits of education and employment. Unlike the Hindus, the Muslims did neither excite pity in Christians' hearts for reason of social degeneration, nor did they kindle hope of yielding to Christian propagandist insinuations. On the other hand, they reminded the missionaries of the Islamic Renaissance to which their own 'Revival of Learning' was indebted and of the days of the Crusades. They hated and also feared the Muslims, because it was with them that they had to reckon for political supremacy in India.

by communicating some advantage which they can appreciate and by showing that Christianity rests on the intelligible precepts of its doctrines, and contains reasons for the performance of all its duties. And another reason for such an education is in its procuring means and opening ways of access to the people, and opportunities of preaching to them. One great difficulty, which missionaries often experience, is in obtaining access to the people in circumstances where Christianity can be made a subject of communication or conversation. In such circumstances schools become very important, as a means of communication with different classes of people, with children and parents and with men and women. And school-houses become important as places for becoming acquainted with people for social intercourse and religious worship. School-houses become Chapels under the control of missionaries. Their use for this purpose is often more important than for education." +1

The schools were chiefly meant for the education of converted population, which needed lessons of Bible and the teachings of Jesus Christ to be taught and also to learn reading and writing. "For the same reason they were compelled to introduce the printing press and print the Bible in Indian languages In short, the missionaries soon realised that schools were both the cause and effect of proselytisation and that educational and missionary work had to be undertaken side by side. +2 It will be evident from the circumstances mentioned above that the Company had to give way to official pressure and other conditions to impart religious colour to its policy. But it remained firm

+1 R. G. Wilder, "Mission Schools in India," pp. 36-7 reproduced by S. Noorullah and Naik, p. 60.

+2 *Ibid.* OP. cit, pp. 60-61.

in refusing to take up the responsibility of educating the Indians. Hence the meagre educational activities found in this period were the outcome of the zeal of the British missionaries for instructing the Hindus, specially those who had declared for Christian faith in schools started and controlled by the missionaries. The Directors of the Company used to send out chaplains for ministering to the spiritual welfare of the Company's servants; but the main duty assigned to them was to spread Christianity among the people. "In their Despatch of 1659 the Directors made no secret of their intention when they expressed their desire to propagate Christian Gospel among Indians, and missionaries were permitted to embark on their ships for this purpose +¹." But the servants of the Company did not share the exuberance of the Directors and did not pursue the policy of spreading education on an extensive scale. In fact they did not favour that missionaries should acquire too much influence which, in their opinion, might create political problems.

Missionaries' emphasis on propagational efforts.

By the Charter of 1698 the missionaries were assured of benevolent protection of the Company in India. On their arrival, therefore, they took up with great zeal, the work of starting and organising education, as well as of the propagation of Christianity. +² Their work did not stop with converting

+¹ N. N. Law, *OP. cit.*, pp. 7-9; S. N. Mukerjee, pp. 19-20

+² In the seventeenth century we find the Directors taking initiative in educational work, but with the arrival of the missionaries in the beginning of the eighteenth century we find a change gradually setting in. They shifted their educational duties to the shoulders of the new-comers, though, of course, they did not stand altogether. During the first three quarters of the eighteenth century they gave assistance to schools of various kinds . . . in various ways They did not, however, want to have a hand in actual educational work, so that up to 1787 all that was done outside Fort St. George, was done by the missionaries either in their capacity as such or as station chaplains. N. N. Law, "Promotion of Education under the Early European Settlers," p. 33.

people, though they had been sent to this country for this purpose only; the social and economic uplift of the new converts and the raising of their moral standard stressed the need of opening schools for their education. The urgency of this measure was driven home to them by the fact that the old schools and the new institutions functioning under the control of the Company did not offer scope and facilities for the new converts +¹.

Madras, being the main settlement of the English in those days, was naturally the place where

Schools founded in Madras.

+¹ The mission schools did, no doubt, considerable service to organising modern education at a time when the old educational system was on the point of complete breakdown. They won great popularity, consequently, among well-to-do classes of the Indians and they have survived today mainly on the strength of their utility and strict adherence to the principles of discipline and modern advanced trends in education. Their examples also encouraged private Indian enterprise. But being the offsprings of the old missionary school, which were, in fact, an instrument of preaching Christianity, they are now, under changed circumstances, encouraging the germination and growth of alien cultural tendencies and western ideology among the youths of liberated or half-liberated nations of Asia and Africa. Attempts at reconstructing educational system on national lines have, so far, floundered on the rock of ideological conflict—the creation of foreign sponsored schools. It is very unfortunate from our national standpoint that the Company for a long time in its early career shirked responsibility of providing education to the Indians and at the same time neglected to make any effort to sustain, improve or adjust the languishing indigenous system of education which was found, on enquiry and investigation by fair-minded Englishmen, to possess sufficient vitality and potentiality for further development. The result was that the principles and methods of missionary education found fertile soil to strike their roots in India.

educational activities were started and schools of various types were opened. The Protestant mission of the Danes was the first agency to which goes credit of having initiated the work. Denmark could not obtain a footing for her nation in India, her political status was soon eclipsed. But the famous leaders of the Danish Mission Ziegenbalg and Plustschan concentrated their energy and resources upon missionary work and in order to be able to carry on their activities smoothly made collaboration with the English in the south. The Danish missionaries opened a school at Tranquebar in 1716 and two charity schools in Madras. Ziegenbalg died in 1719 but other equally zealous and devoted missionaries continued his work. Among them Grundler, Kiernander and Schwartz are famous. Grundler had already started a school in Madras. In 1742 Kiernander founded charity schools for Eurasians and Indians near Fort St. David. Another important missionary, Schultz, reorganised some old institutions and opened new ones.

Danish
Missionaries
Schwartz.

But the man who enjoys the most important place among early missionaries for his educational work is Schwartz who is rightly regarded as the pioneer of education in the Province of Madras. He founded a school at Trichinopoly in 1772 and an English charity school at Tanjor. For this purpose, he obtained a donation from Nawab Hyder Ali of Mysore. He established two schools for indigenous languages. Schwartz was able to secure goodwill and patronage of Mr. John Sullivan, which enabled him to found three schools at Tanjore, Ramnad and Shivganga by raising fund from the local Rajas. In these schools English was taught to the Indians. In the opinion of Mr. N. N. Law these schools were the earliest schools for teaching English to

—John Sullivan.

Indian children. John Sullivan himself held the view that they would help, "the Company and the people to understand each." "Christianity was not expressly taught in these schools."¹

The Directors spoke highly of the plan of John Sullivan for opening schools for the teaching of English to the Indian children and sanctioned generous grants-in-aid to such institutions. Under direction from Sullivan English was made medium of instruction in the newly opened schools in place of indigenous languages. This change of the medium of teaching and introduction of English and a few other subjects in the syllabus as compulsory subjects led to the establishment of several new schools in Madras². Their demand was so great that the wealthy Indians offered financial help for this purpose. Government contributions in the shape of grants and regular inspection by government officers helped in increasing the efficiency of these schools. "Thus as a result of the efforts of Schwartz educational policy of this province (Madras) was moulded into a new pattern in the middle of the eighteenth century."³

+¹ N. N. Law, OP. cit. p. 62.

+² The subjects taught in these schools were English, Arithmetic, Tamil, Telegu, Hindi and Bible.

+³ R. Richard Cobble founded a charity school at Bombay in 1719. Capt. Ballamy opened a school at Calcutta. These schools were maintained by subscription and donations rather than government grant though the Company also afforded them help in different ways. S. Noorullah and Naik, OP. cit. p. 'Very soon the number of schools run by missionaries and aided by the Company rose to 17. But the missionaries failed to teach as much about Christianity as they wanted and consequent interest in them gradually diminished. Educational Thought and Practice, by V. R. Taneja, p. 226.

The Act of 1698, by a special clause, led to the opening of several charity schools in Madras as well as in Bombay and Calcutta. In Madras the St. Mary's School was established in 1715. It was followed by a Female Orphan Asylum and a Male Orphan Asylum.⁺¹ The Company, true to its policy of not shouldering the responsibility of education in India, did not help the charity schools by sanctioning regular grant-in-aid, but assisted them in a variety of ways to maintain their existence and extend their sphere of usefulness. Thus, besides the schools, started and run by the missionaries, the government was responsible for establishing a number of Chaplain schools following the provision of the Charter of 1698. These schools were conducted in Portuguese, which was the lingua franca at the fortresses of the Company, while missionary schools were conducted in Indian Vernaculars.⁺²

The mission schools, conducted by the missionaries, had an advantage over those which functioned under the direct supervision of the Company's chaplains. They taught in Vernacular languages and they catered not only for the European and Anglo-Indian children, even Indian parents desirous of giving English education to their children got admission in mission schools, though in rare cases.

From the brief survey of the educational activities of this period (1600—1765) it is apparent that education did not make any headway in the territories governed by the Company. Whatever progress was achieved was the result of missionary enterprises, who took to education for the sake

⁺¹ Same as footnote ⁺³ at p. 21.

⁺² Dr. L. P. Rawat, "History of Indian Education," pp. 180-82.

of communicating Christianity through instruction in schools. But the missionaries were mainly interested in the education of the Europeans, Anglo-Indians or of the Indian converts.⁺¹

The Company, on the other hand, refused to accept any responsibility for educating the Indians under its political control. Neither the Court of Directors nor the Company had yet thought of spending any amount on providing education to the Indians and no decision had yet been taken for framing a definite educational policy to be pursued in India. In fact, though the Company was directed to maintain schools "in every garrison and factory in India, it did nothing in early years and took no interest in providing education. In the words of Dr. S. N. Mukerjee, "The Company did nothing in this direction..... Thus the educational activities were quite meagre during this period. Most of the institutions were managed by the missionaries and the Company was running hardly a few schools of its own.⁺²"

⁺¹ They regarded it as their pious duty to look after the education of the Christian children and, in particular, after the welfare and education of the Anglo-Indian children of the Company's soldiers and their Indian wives S. Noorullah and Naik, OP. cit. p. 54.

⁺² "The Company, however, assisted missionary, specially charity schools in various ways, say Messrs. Noorullah and Naik, "it sanctioned recurring grants, permitted lotteries in their support, gave non-recurring grants for building or provided sites, allowed their officers to collect funds or act as school accountants or other office-bearers.... etc." But the same authors are of opinion that schools were maintained by subscriptions and donations rather than by the grants sanctioned by Company" A History of Education in India, IVth Edition 1961, p. 20.

This period, unfortunately, synchronised with the outbreak of anarchy and lawlessness that followed the death of Aurangzeb. The intrigues of foreigners and intervention into the troubled waters of Indian politics with a view to draw their own chestnuts made confusion worst confounded. This was the real cause of intellectual stagnation and cultural barrenness, which had been grossly misrepresented and distorted by foreign writers.⁺¹

CHAPTER III

Progress of Education

(1765 — 1813)

1. Change in the Company's attitude towards Missionaries — its causes.
2. Opposition to the new outlook.
3. Opening of new schools under Government control.
4. Warren Hastings interested in Oriental education.
5. The Benaras Sanskrit College.
6. Educational activities by Missionaries.
7. The 'Serampur trio'.
8. ———their offensive activities.
9. The Company shows favour to oriental learnings.
10. Criticism and agitation against the new policy of the Company.
11. Ban on Christian Missionaries.
12. Charles Grant.
13. ———advocates missionaries cause at home.
14. Grants' Proposals.
15. Criticism of his proposals.
16. The Portagonists of Orientalism at work.
17. Lord Minto's Despatch.
18. The Charter Act of 1813.
19. The Education Clause.
20. Drawbacks of the Charter 1813.
21. Charter of 1813 and the education of the Muslims.

Before 1765 the attitude of the Company had been favourable to missionaries' association with education in this country. But when, as a result of unexpected victories at Plassey and Buxar in 1757 and 1764 respectively, political authority and administrative control of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa came into their hands; the Company had to revise their educational policy. On political grounds it was considered advisable to check missionary activities in the field of education, because they exploited facilities afforded them for promoting,

Change in the Company's attitude towards Missionaries — its causes.

⁺¹ "The social and political conditions for five hundred years earlier had not been such as to promote the highest ideals of public conduct or foster the manlier qualities of private characters. H. R. James, "Education and Statesmanship in India, 1797-1910," p. 10.

not by fair means, the Christian faith. Moreover, it was deemed, rather, more advantageous from economic and administrative points of view that the Indian's religious feelings should receive due attention in formulating educational policy, and it should be based, as far as possible, on religious neutrality and regard for orientalism. The Company's officers, unlike the Directors, wished proselytising activities of the missionaries to be reduced to narrow limits, if not altogether banned. The Vellore mutiny in 1807 had warned the Company against encouraging such activities.⁺¹ The Company, on these considerations, had withdrawn sympathy and support from the missionaries between 1781–1791 and had adopted a policy of encouraging oriental learning through official agency.⁺²

A new administrative machinery had to be devised for the consolidation of the vast conquered territory within the limited economic resources of a commercial concern, particularly because the new territorial exploits and expansionist ventures, which entailed financial liabilities, were jealously watched and vehemently attacked by the Directors as well as ministers and politicians of England in the Parliament. It was, therefore, deemed wise that certain administrative posts of lower grade, hitherto reserved for the Englishmen, should henceforth be thrown open to educated Indians of respectable families because the Company could ill-afford to import a large number of civil servants on high salaries. To

⁺¹ This dangerous mutiny of the sepoys bears striking resemblance to the sepoy mutiny of 1857. Both were the outcome of an apprehension that native's caste and religion was in danger by the injudicious changes and new regulations of the Company. P. E. Roberts, p. 266.

⁺² S. Noorullah and J. P. Naik, OP, cit, pp. 66–67, H. R. James, "Education and Statesmanship in India".

qualify the natives of India for such posts, the Company was forced to revise its educational policy in order to give it secular tinge. Political considerations dictated the urgency of winning the goodwill and confidence of the children of the soil.⁺¹

This change in the attitude of the Company led to serious controversy and determined opposition from the missionaries. Wilberforce, a member of the British Parliament, voiced the feelings and demands of the missionaries when he proposed in 1793 in the House of Commons that the following clause should be inserted in the Company's Charter :—

"That the Court of Directors of the Company shall be empowered and commissioned to nominate and send out from time to time a sufficient number of skilled and suitable persons who shall attain the aforesaid object ('to promote by all just and prudent means and interest and happiness of the inhabitants of the British dominions in India') by serving as schoolmasters, missionaries or otherwise."

But the Directors of the Company 'on political and financial reasons' had decided not to undertake the responsibility of educating the Indians and to abandon the policy of affording support to the missionaries in their zeal for converting the people to Christianity. They exerted their influence in the Parliament against Wilberforce's Resolution, which was defeated. "The relations

Opposition to the new outlook.

⁺¹ "By that time (1783) — The Company's territorial limits began to increase. It was realised that consolidation of their possessions was possible only if they maintained cordial relations with the Hindus and the Muslims. The English, therefore, followed a policy of appeasement and sympathy with the existing social, religious and educational institutions. V. R. Taneja, OP, cit, p. 227.

between the missionaries and the officials of the Company became, therefore, extremely strained after 1793", which is clearly reflected in the treatment meted to the Serampur Missionaries, whose activities will be described later.⁺¹

Opening of new schools under Government control.

Instead of utilising the services of the missionaries solely, as was done before, for educating the Indians, the Company decided to establish some centres of higher learning for the Indians, specially the Hindus. It also encouraged private enterprise in the field of education by the Indians themselves. Following in the footsteps of the Muslim rulers of India whose successors the Company considered it to be, it started the practice of awarding marks of honour and pecuniary grants to learned scholars of both the communities.⁺²

Warren Hastings interested in Oriental education.

Bengal furnishes a fine example of how official efforts were responsible in the beginning for the opening of several new institutions and thus spreading amongst the Indians. The Governor General, Warren Hastings, conceived and implemented the idea of establishing, by his personal efforts, an institution, known as the Calcutta Madrasah for the sons of Mohammadan gentlemen; so that they might receive proper education and get themselves qualified for employment to respectable posts, specially in the department of judiciary under the Company. Hastings was a scholar of Persian and took interest in oriental learning. He has mentioned in his official despatch to the Directors that an application was submitted to him by an influential section of the Muslims of Calcutta for establishing a college for the

⁺¹ S. Noorullah and J. P. Naik, OP. cit, p. 68.

⁺² The Board of Directors were of the opinion that the natives had as good a system of faith as of morals as other peoples and it would be madness to give them more learning than what they already possessed. *Ibid.*

sons of respectable Muslims. He writes, "In the month of September, 1780, a petition was presented to me by a considerable section of Musalmans of credit and learning praying that I would use my influence with a stranger of the name of Mugid O'din to persuade him to remain there (Calcutta) for the instruction of young Muslims. They represented that this was a favourable occasion to establish a Madrasah or college and Mugid O'din the fittest person to form and preside in it, that it has been the pride of every polished court and the wisdom of every regulated government to promote by such institutions the growth and extension of liberal knowledge. In India the decline of learning has accompanied that of the Mughal Empire. The extension of liberal knowledge should be followed as was done in the days of the Mughals."⁺¹

Hastings developed the institution, increased the teaching staff and raised Mugid O'din to the position of the Principal of the Madrasah. The number of students, both day-scholars and boarders, went up and many of them were granted freeship.

The Madrasah soon attained the reputation of a great institution and attracted students from Kashmir, Gujrat and Karnataka. Among the subjects taught were Philosophy, Principles of Quran, Law, Geometry, Arithmetic, Logic, etc. The medium of instruction was Arabic and the period of education was seven years.

Incidentally the first government attempt to establish an educational institution started with the foundation of the Calcutta Madrasah for the Muslims under

⁺¹ W. H. Sharp, Volume No. 1, pp. 7-8.

the East India Company.⁺¹ But it owed its inception to the personal interest of Hastings and urgent needs of the Government. At a later stage, however, when the Governor did exert all his persuasive tactics to convince the Court of Directors of the expediency and necessity of conciliating the Muslims⁺² by recruiting them for certain branches of Government administration, the latter agreed to sanction a grant for the Madrasah. At first lands were assigned yielding Rs. 29,000 annually for the maintenance of the Madrasah in 1785, but, later on, a sum of Rs. 30,000 was granted from the State Treasury in lieu of assignment in lands.⁺³

Hastings made recommendations to the Directors for extending patronage to the Madrasah on the ground that the administration of the Criminal Courts was in the hands of Muslims and it was expedient that it should be allowed to continue in their hands. The Madrasah will turn out young Muslims, qualified to be recruited in judicial and police services. The Bengal Government not only sanctioned the project but also paid back the huge amount, which Hastings had spent from his own pocket to finance this project. Molvi Mugid O'din, who was a great scholar of those days, was appointed

⁺¹ W. H. Sharp, p. 78. In June 1772 a Muslim teacher had set up a school at Hugli, where Arabic and Persian were taught. Governor Cartier had granted him a small stipend. (*Vide History of Freedom Movement, Vol. II, Part I, p. 196, published by the Pakistan Historical Society, Karachi.*)

⁺² "It was both expedient and necessary", Hastings wrote, "to continue the administration of the Criminal Courts of Judicature, and many of the most important branches of the police in the hands of Mohammadan Officers." A. R. Mallick, "British Policy and the Muslims in Bengal", Asiatic Society of Bengal, Dacca, p. 169, quoting 'Bengal Past and Present', Vol. VIII, pp. 109-111.

⁺³ S. Noorullah and Naik, p. 58, A. R. Mallick, OP. cit. p. 170.

sole preceptor in this institution. But Warren Hastings, an astute and clever politician as he was, determined to make it a centre of learning for the Muslims and an important agency for gaining their sympathy. He was convinced that the Company was successor of the once powerful Mughal empire and as such it was politically expedient that the policy of encouraging the Muslims to receive education in Government or aided schools should be pursued.

The Benaras Sanskrit College owed its establishment to the same political considerations as had operated in the case of the Calcutta Madrasah. It was an attempt to appease the feelings of the Hindu population of the newly acquired territories of the Company, who must have resented the priority given to the Muslims in providing educational facility. On the recommendation of Jonathan Duncan, Resident at Benaras, the Hindu Sanskrit College was started in 1791. The motives, as explained by Mr. Duncan, were "such as leading to endearing our Government to native Hindus, and the principal advantage that may be derived from this institution will be felt in its effect upon the natives by preserving and disseminating a knowledge of the Hindu Law. The course of studies at the college was exactly similar to that of an indigenous Patshala and discipline of the college was to be confirmable in all respects to the Dharamshastra of Manu.⁺¹ The initial grant of the college was soon raised from Rs. 14,000 to Rs. 20,000, though its affairs were not satisfactorily managed as long as it remained in the hands of the Pandits.

The policy underlying the foundation of these two denominational colleges as a clear manifestation of the official tendency to patronise oriental studies and discourage missionary efforts of making education a vehicle

⁺¹ S. Noorullah and Naik.

The Benaras
Sanskrit
College.

proselytisation as well as to neutralise the activities of those who were impatient to impose foreign languages; it underlines triumph of the policy of using education as an instrument of statecraft and observing a policy of religious neutrality, so necessary for securing political and administrative ends and conciliating public opinion. The difference of opinion among policy-makers of the Company on the method, and nature of education led to creation of two schools of thought, 'Orientalists' and 'Occidentalists'.⁺¹

Educational
activities by
Missionaries.

As already mentioned the missionaries undertook educational activities as an important means of gaining success in their proselytising mission in India. Their main and foremost object was to spread Christianity for which purpose they were sent to this far-off sub-continent where they were not supposed to start educational institutions or work as school teachers. The Controlling authorities of the various missions did not look with favour upon and even tried to dissuade them from educational activities.⁺² The Company also did not

⁺¹ "Though both Hastings and Duncan were personally much interested in the languages and literature of India for their own sake, their actions were dominated by political rather than educational considerations and policies were decided on grounds of religious neutrality or political expediency of conciliating the people." S. Noorullah p. 59.

⁺² "The missionaries, no doubt, achieved great success in popularising Western education in India; their creditable achievement was solely the result of their "single-minded and whole-hearted labours in the cause of education for itself". In the words of Mr. H. R. James, "A spontaneous demand for liberal education on the part of some more advance-thinking members of the Hindu community in Calcutta", proved an important factor in winning popular support for new directions to the educational enterprise both by the missionaries and the Government. The Hindus felt a keen temptation, "for a share in the knowledge and training which they discerned to be a large part of the secret of the superior efficiency of the nations from the West, and the source of what was strong and admirable in English character". Education and Statesmanship in India. 1797-1910, pp. 13-14.

approve of their nefarious activities in meddling with the religions of the natives. But the missionaries not only did not give up their policy, but also provoked Hindus and Muslims 'by issuing a pamphlet in which they denounced the Hindu and Muslim religions'.⁺¹

The Danish missionaries in Bengal had, at first, a favourable climate for their religious and educational activities as they had enjoyed in Madras, Kiernander was the pioneer of missionaries' work in Bengal and he was fortunate in enjoying official patronage. He was followed first by Carey and was later joined by Ward and Marshman, representatives of the Baptist Missionary Society, who all worked unitedly in preaching and teaching work at Calcutta. They wanted to shift their evangelical and educational activities to North Bengal, but in view of the hostile attitude of the East India Company they decided to settle at Serampur, a Dutch possession not far from Calcutta, as 'the Serampur trio'. They not only carried on educational and teaching activities, but also translated and printed the Bible and many tracts in several Indian Vernaculars. The contribution of this trio to the spread of Christianity among Indian masses is remarkable in the history of proselytisation. In the words of a writer, "there is no parallel to such an amount of energy displayed by this party in the translation of the scripture and in opening schools, where side by side with teaching Christian faith was preached with intense enthusiasm and devotion to the children."⁺²

The 'Serampur
trio'.

The trio in their zeal for religious propaganda incurred the displeasure of the Company by circulating an offensive tract called "Addresses to the Hindus and Muslims", in which they used words, which were calculated to excite and injure the religious sentiments

— their offensive activities.

⁺¹ Mr. V. R. Taneja, OP. cit. p. 228.

⁺² Dr. L. P. Rawat, p. 186, Noorullah and Naik.

of the Indians. Considering it detrimental to the interests of the Company, the Company determined to stop their activities. Their press was confiscated and more drastic steps were contemplated to stop the activities. But the Dutch Government intervened, in consequence of which several Baptist missionaries were ordered to reside within the bounds of Calcutta under official vigilance.

In the beginning of the chapter a reference has been made to the change in the Company's attitude towards missionaries as a result of the high administrative responsibilities that devolved upon it in 1765 by the transfer of sovereignty of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the Company. The new sense of responsibility made it more circumspect in its dealings with the Indians, whom it was considered essential to conciliate in view of high imperial interests. The Company, therefore, was forced to give up its patronising attitude in religious matters and recognised the necessity and importance of observing a policy of non-interference in the religious beliefs of the natives.⁺¹

The Company in pursuance of this policy began to show open sympathy with oriental learning. This shift in governmental attitude created unrest in missionary circles, who were not disposed to accept this challenge silently. But the Directors at home endorsed this policy and clearly expressed in their despatch of September 7, 1808, that they favoured policy of religious neutrality. In their opinion, it will be found not only salutary to the interests of the Government but even satisfactory to the considerate part of the missionaries themselves.⁺²

⁺¹ N. N. Law, p. 33; S. Noorullah and Naik, p. 66.

⁺² Dr. L. P. Rawat, p. 186.

But the change in the Government policy in respect of missionary activities met with strong criticism both in India and England. It was branded as inimical to the principles of Jesus Christ and injurious to the cause of moral and social uplift of the natives. The missionaries in England started a strong movement to strive and agitate for the reversion of the new Government policy. The Industrial Revolution had let loose new social and political forces and given birth to class strife and labour unrest. Demand for educational and moral reforms and social readjustment was gaining momentum and voices were heard in British Parliament urging for the assumption of the responsibility of public education.

The unsatisfactory state of affairs in the sphere of education in Indian territories, directly under the possession of the Company, its refusal to accept direct responsibility of public education, lack of funds and indifference to the moral and educational advancement of the ignorant and apathetic Indian masses were gradually diverting the attention of reformers and statesmen in England and officials in India to the problem of Indian education. The mission leaders and their organisations were not slow to exploit the situation. Fortunately for them the renewal of the Charter of the Company was at hand and minds of the people were greatly excited over Indian Issues, particularly on the advisability, or otherwise, of authorising the Company to assume the responsibility of education and utilising services of the Christian missionaries in the field of education.

In 1793 when the resolution moved by Wilberforce was defeated in the House of Commons, the Company adopted severe measures to check the growing activities of the missionaries in India. Many missionaries were expelled and an effective check upon their free entry

Criticism and agitation against the new policy of the Company.

Ban on Christian Missionaries.

The Company shows favour to oriental learning.

into India was imposed. Between 1793 and 1813 permits were not issued to them to preach or start schools within the dominion of the Company. This created great resentment among them. They started a campaign of vilification and strong criticism against the servants of the Company. The contemporary literature of the missionaries and their sympathisers is full of bitter invectives and sordid attacks upon the officials who were accused of abandoning Christian morality, committing open adultery and giving license to over-zealous orientalisists of singing praises of the religions of the East. Finding themselves powerless in India, they and their friends started an intensive campaign in England to force the parliament to revise the religious and educational policy of the Company in India.⁺¹

Charles Grant.

They found a zealous and selfless champion in Charles Grant. He was born in 1746, came to Calcutta in 1767, but had to return to England in 1771, when his health broke as a result of hard work in Bengal. He returned to Calcutta as an employee of the Company in 1773, and having spent some time in extravagant and careless living and having suffered financial and domestic calamities, he changed his way of life and became a pious Christian. He joined the missionaries and worked enthusiastically to convert Indians to Christianity and give them education. As an employee of the Company he proved eminently successful in the discharge of commercial and political duties assigned to him. He accumulated considerable wealth by private business. In 1789 he returned to England.

In England he continued work for intensifying missionary efforts to secure legislative permission to carry on a campaign for the complete conversion of India to Christian faith. He became a leading member of the evangelist group, who were rousing public opinion

— advocates missionaries cause at home.

⁺¹ Dr. L. P. Rawat, pp. 186—187.

in England in favour of religious activities in the East. For this purpose, he wrote a remarkable pamphlet known as 'Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain, particularly with respect to morals; and the means of improving it'. This was not published but, as its cumbrous title indicates, it gives vent to Grant's prejudiced and highly exaggerated and historically unwarranted views on the religious, moral and social condition of the people of India, particularly the Hindus. In his characteristically evangelical strain he writes, "In Bengal a man of real veracity or integrity is a great phenomenon; one conscientious in the whole of his conduct, it is to be feared, is an unknown character official or ministerial employments of all sorts, and in all degradations are generally used as a means of speculation The distribution of justice has commonly become a traffic in venality The apathy with which a Hindu views all persons and interests unconnected with himself is such as excites the indignation of Europeans Patriotism is absolutely unknown in Hindustan." ⁺¹

It is, no doubt, true that India at that time was in the throes of unparalleled anarchy brought about by the disintegration of the Mughal empire and aggravated by the nefarious designs and immoral intrigues of the foreigners, whose intervention made confusion worst-confounded. It is not surprising that moral standards under such conditions were lowered and progress of education suffered set-back.⁺² But the British sup-

⁺¹ S. Noorullah and Naik, OP. cit.

⁺² It was a period when life and property were always in danger and when it was risky to confine in even one's dearest friend or relation; when learning was at a discount, appealing ignorance and superstition prevailed in the land ... (Justice Mahmood; History of English Education in India, p. 11).

planters to the vanishing Mughal sovereignty in the eighteenth century cannot escape blame, because it was the result of their apathy and hostility to the prevailing system of education, and failure to take decision to accept the responsibility of education in the territory under their direct rule by introducing a suitably balanced and synthesised system of learning. Ignorance, moral degradation and superstitious outlook were the inevitable concomitant of such a state of affairs, examples of which are enough and to spare in contemporary Europe, including England.

Grants' proposals.

But in fairness to Charles Grant it must be conceded that he overdrew the picture of Indian intellectual and moral backwardness not wholly to run down the nation but to force upon the British ruler who, in their zeal to exploit the newly discovered Eldorado, had shown no inclination to spend even a fraction of the ill-gotten wealth for liquidating illiteracy among the Indians and raising the standard of their life and morality.

Grant diagnosed that the two chief maladies of the Indians (Gentooes) were ignorance and improper faith and suggested that proper facilities of education be provided to the poor, ignorant Indians. He says, "the communication of our light and knowledge to them (Hindus) would prove the best remedy for their disorders and this remedy is proposed from the full conviction that if judiciously and patiently applied, it would have great and happy effects upon them."

Ardent Christian as he was, Grant emphasised that all Indians should be converted Christianity, as, according to him, the root cause of India's malady was that the blessings of Christianity and the light and knowledge of the West had not been communicated to them. "The true cure of darkness is the introduction of light. The

Hindus err, because they are ignorant", he observed, and pleaded that the responsibility of educating Indians should be taken by British themselves. He urged that, besides spreading Christianity, education in science, technology and Western learning should be imparted to the Indians through English medium. He laid stress upon teaching, besides its literature, philosophy and Christian religion; science and technology to bring about eternal prosperity and social peace.

Charles Grant was sincere in his advocacy of imparting education to the Indians, particularly the Hindus; best suited in that age and it cannot be gainsaid that, for good for evil, his suggestions were accepted, in various phases, by those who framed the educational policy of the Company or the succeeding British Government. But the motivating consideration of Grant was propagation of Christianity and religious conversion of of the Indian people.

Grant has been called the 'father of modern Indian education',⁺¹ because his recommendations and proposals to make English language the vehicle of education and transaction of official and court business were adopted by William Bentinck in the 30's of the nineteenth century.

Grant's dissertation on Indian Society is full of exaggeration and undue vehemence. Similarly his prescription of remedy for the ills prevailing among Hindus, particularly, is fallacious and bears no relation to the evils from which the people were actually suffering. A large part of his 'Observations' is taken up by the delineation of the Indian Society of the period and the tarnished one-sided nature of his description robs it alike of historical and educational value. His argument in

Criticism of his proposals.

⁺¹ Dr. L. P. Rawat, p. 189.

support of adopting English in official transactions and as medium of instruction and the expectations raised therefrom also proved unrealistic. Neither the Indians, *en masse*, as anticipated by him, turned Christians nor did it prevent the growth of political consciousness and rise of national awakening among the Indians. On the contrary, the course of revolutionary ideals was set as future development in the history of the country proved. Grant's proposals were, however, incorporated in the educational clause of the Charter of 1813 and are reflected in several other important educational measures adopted by Britishers in India.⁺¹

The period in the history of England (1790—1820) is one of great social and political tumult in the country. The Industrial Revolution and many social and economic problems arising out of it had given birth to lively spirit of humanism among public-spirited and charitable-minded persons who began to take interest in activities for alleviating the lot of suffering classes, including labourers and unemployed. They were aroused to undertake educational and philanthropic work to open new avenues of employment and to develop facilities for religious education, without which morals of the people could not improve. The missionaries took full advantage of this new wave of humanistic ideals and drove home to the politicians and statesmen, particularly members of the Parliament, that the poor Indian peoplealso deserved full share of sympathy from the British in matters of educational facilities. The friends of the

⁺¹ N. and N. OP. cit., p. 76. They base their views upon Syed Mahmud's book, 'History of English Education in India', pp. 11—18. Mr. V. R. Taneja is of opinion that, 'if the Government had accepted his suggestions regarding education in the last decade of the eighteenth century (1793), India would have gained fifty years in education, *ibid*, OP. cit., p. 228.

missionaries intensified their efforts against the then prevailing policy of the Company; and for securing permission to proceed to India and undertake the work of educating and converting the masses in the country.

While the campaign to get permission for evangelisation and spread education in India was being resolutely pursued in and outside the parliament in Britain, the Company's officers in India, at least a majority of them, on consideration of political expediency, were not slow to emphasise adoption of a policy of religious neutrality. They began to sponsor the cause of oriental or indigenous learning. The establishment of Calcutta Madrasah and the Sanskrit College at Benaras, already noted, was the direct outcome of this policy of orientalism.

Lord Minto, the Viceroy of India, fully expressed and advocated the feelings of this group when he sent in 1811 a despatch in which he pointed out that 'the science and literature of the Indians were in a progressive state of decay' and ascribed it to the apathy of the Government. Minto, in this despatch, made the following interesting observations:—

"It is a common remark that science and literature are in progressive state of decay among the natives of India ... The number of the learned is not only diminished but also the circle of learning, even among those who still devoted themselves to it, appears to be considerably contracted. The abstract sciences are abandoned, polite literature neglected and no branch of learning cultivated but what is connected with the peculiar religious doctrines of the people. The immediate consequence of this state of thing is the disuse, and even actual

The Protagonists of Orientalism at work.

Lord Minto's Despatch.

loss of valuable books; and it is to be apprehended that unless Government interfere with a fostering hand, the revival of letters may shortly become hopeless for want of books or of persons capable of explaining them."

"The principal cause of the present neglected state of literature in India is to be traced to the want of that encouragement, which was formerly afforded to it by princes, chieftains and opulent individuals under the native governments. Such encouragements must always operate as a strong incentive to study and literary exertions, but specially in India, where the learned professions have little, if any other, support."

"It is seriously to be lamented that a nation, particularly distinguished for its love and successful cultivation of letters in other parts of the empire, should have failed to extend its fostering care to the literature of the Hindus... .."

Lord Minto's Despatch is remarkable in as much as it was the first official communication on education in India wherein it was urged that the claim of the Muslims for providing them educational facilities should also receive Government's consideration. He proposed that colleges for the Muslims should be established at Bhagalpur, Jonepur and at some other places in the conquered and ceded provinces and that Calcutta Madrasah should be reformed to make it an effective institution for the dissemination of Muslim learning.⁺¹ But this well-intentioned proposal of Minto proved of no avail. A section of Anglo-Indians and officials of the Company

⁺¹ S. Nurullah and Naik, "A Students History of Education in India, 1956, p. 45.

saw danger to the state in spreading education on a large scale, while the Charter Act of 1813 completely ignored the proposals of Lord Minto regarding government encouragement to the education of the Muslims, made only two years before.

The beginning of the nineteenth century, thus, saw the Court of Directors at home and the officials of the Company in India, as well as the retired Anglo-Indian administrators pulling the strings of administrative policy in opposite directions. The main issues, which kept them at loggerheads and raised a storm of mutual bickerings and bitter opposition, mainly concerned religion and education, firstly, should the missionaries be permitted to enter and reside in India and carry on their propagational and proselytising activities openly under the mask of imparting education; or, secondly, should the Company, which had, in fact, supplanted the Mughals over a major portion of the Sub-continent, be authorised to assume, like their predecessors in government, the responsibility of providing education for the Indians? The assumption of educational responsibility, if agreed upon, will bring in its wake several other important problems of the direction, method and scope of education, which had already begun to agitate the minds of British officers and statesmen, as can be seen in the final outcome of the Oriental-Occidental controversy and several other important decisions in matters of educational growth.

It was under such ominous portents that the time of the revival of the Company's Charter approached and the British Parliament resolved itself into a Committee for the purpose of taking evidence of the experts of Indian affairs to collect information on two most controversial points--admission of missionaries into India

The Charter
Act of 1813.

and investing the Company with educational responsibility. Men like Warren Hastings, Sir John Macolin, Mr. Munro and Charles Grant and many other minor officials were summoned and cross-questioned on these issues. The majority of witnesses were opposed to educational-cum-missionary efforts being undertaken or recognised by the state because it was fraught with political dangers.

The missionary issue evoked the most bitter debate in the Parliament in which both sides, relying on the knowledge and experience of Indian administration and public affairs, fought with grim determination. Charles Grant and Wilberforce were the heroes of the fight. They pleaded the cause of the missionaries with great zeal. Grant circulated his famous 'Observations' at this critical time among members of Parliament. It had a tremendous effect.

The opponents of the revival of the missionary influence in India were equally determined in their campaign. They had also a strong phalanx of retired Anglo-Indians at their back. In debates "every kind of jest and satire was employed to make missions and their supporters an object of ridicule and to make them appear the enemies of the people."¹ But the mission party carried the day. On the 23rd June, 1813, the Parliament passed the famous Resolution 13 to the effect that sufficient facilities should be afforded by law to persons

¹ As an example the following words of Mr. Benseley, one of the Directors, may be quoted, "So far from approving the proposed clause or listening to it with patience, from the first moment I heard of it I considered it the most wild, extravagant, expensive and unjustifiable project that ever was suggested by the most visionary speculator." The debate has been aptly called a "hot mission fray". S. Noorullah, OP. cit.

desirous of going to, or remaining in, India for the accomplishment of those benevolent designs to promote the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India. "That meant that missionaries were allowed to enter India and to reside there; they might preach and found churches and discharge all spiritual duties; in a word, they might fulfil their missionary calling in the completest and widest sense."¹ The Resolution—called 'Mission Clause', or 'Resolution 13'—received royal assent on July 21, 1813.

The second issue dealing with the assumption, by the Company, of the responsibility of education in India was covered by the famous Section 43 of the Charter. This is rightly considered a milestone in the growth and expansion of Indian education. This Section also did not have a smooth passage in the Parliament. The Directors were adamant against further spread of education, particularly through the agency of the missionaries on political and financial grounds. There was, they argued, no demand for education from the Indians themselves, whose only need, then, was security of life and protection from lawlessness. The Company in the face of so many deterrents and having no precedent of state control of education in their own country—England—were not ready to accept obligation likely to affect their commercial profits. But in the words of Syed Nurullah, "The opponents of the *Mission Clause* felt an urgent need of creating a powerful and rival agency in Indian education to counteract the results of the missionary enterprise. They, therefore, moved and successfully carried through a resolution which subsequently became the famous 43rd Section in the Charter."¹

¹ S. Nurullah, OP. cit, p. 81, quoting Richter, pp. 150—51 (1951 edition).

The Education Clause.

The Resolution runs as follows :—

“It shall be lawful for the Governor-General in Council to direct that out of any surplus which may remain of the rents, revenues and profits arising from the said territorial acquisition, after defraying the expenses of the military, civil and commercial establishments and paying the interest of the debt, in a manner hereinafter provided, a sum of not less than one lac of rupees in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India, and that any schools, public lectures, or other institutions for the purposes aforesaid, which shall be founded at the presidencies of Fort William, Fort St. George or Bombay, or in any other part of the British territories in India, in virtue of this Act shall be governed by such regulations as may from time to time be made by the said Governor-General in Council.....”.

The composition of the Resolution clearly indicates that its movers had in view the promotion of the classical literature of India—Arabic and Sanskrit; But not at the expense, or in total disregard, of Western sciences. They were anxious that “attempts should be made to promote a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India”. The supporters of this Resolution believed that by “fostering both oriental and occidental science a reliable counterprise, a protecting break-water against the threatening deluge of missionary enterprise” would be created.

The Charter Act of 1813 is applauded as an important instrument which laid the foundation of modern system of education in India. It is significant that by

this Act the observations and suggestions of Charles Grant regarding the organisation of education, his advocacy of English as a medium of education in India and the introduction of natural sciences in schools became the guiding principles of the Government's education policy since 1813 were fully, though gradually, adopted. The dreams of the orientalists concerning the promotion of classical literature and development of oriental institutions of Hindus and Muslims did not prove true; on the other hand, the influx of missionaries in the country and their redoubled efforts in the sphere of education swept the ground off the feet of the supporters of orientalism. In the year 1835, English was adopted medium of education and as a language of Government offices and business communication. The much talked off secularism of the Government in education lost its potency. If it possessed any, against the storm of heretic and iconoclastic tendencies of missionary teachings in their own institutions, which have continued to prosper and draw heavy grant-in-aid.

“The educational clause in the Charter, being extremely vague and defective, did not specify exactly how the amount to be spent on education.”⁺¹ The Governor-General was empowered to incur expenditure on education beyond the allotted sum, but, in practice, he was not left free to do so. The paucity of the amount itself was a great restriction on the action of the Government in helping the cause of education and in the formulation of a policy conducive to the spread of literacy among the common people.

The Government were forced or encouraged to adhere to the downward Filtration Theory of education which was opposed to the educational interests of the

Drawbacks of the Charter of 1813.

⁺¹ A. R. Mullick, OP. cit., p. 172.

masses. But even this meagre amount of one lac provided in the Charter was left to lie frozen for a decade, because Government needed every farthing for prosecuting wars with Nepal and the Mahrattas. "Thus the Charter Act of 1813, a significant and unprecedented piece of legislation, passed by the British Parliament, so far as educational grant was concerned, did not bring about any change in the policy of the Government till 1823. The vagueness of the Charter, briefly referred to above, was responsible for giving birth to several controversies with regard to objects, agencies and methods of education, particularly the medium of instruction. In fact, it (this period) may be described as a period of controversies rather than that of achievements." In the opinion of S. Nurullah the Court of Directors were responsible for creating and intensifying these controversies. "Had they given a direct ruling on this subject, all the servants of the Company would have been compelled to accept it and the development of education would have been more rapid and harmonious."⁺¹ The indecision and lack of a firm policy in educational matters has been ascribed to the Directors' desire 'to give a trial to every method' and 'not to come to any decision'. But this is not the whole truth. The lack of expert educational opinion among the Indians and Government's unwillingness to take into confidence the few Indians who were qualified to advise on educational problems were the chief contributing factors to delaying the formulation of a definite educational policy for nearly forty years. During this period of a little less than half a century the Company, which was quite new to educational problems, continued to make experiments in order to evolve a definite educational plan. They have been ably summed up in the following words:—

"It is against this background of general apathy, amateurish handling of problems, the utter

⁺¹ S. Nurullah, OP. cit, p. 84, 1951.

neglect (or rather absence) of an Indian viewpoint and complete domination by certain controversies that the first experiment of the Company to create an educational system for India are to be interpreted and understood."⁺¹

The Charter Act having received royal assent in 1813, the Court of Directors issued on 3rd June, 1814, their first educational Despatch, which embodied the provisions of the Charter and contained proposals as to how the sum of one lac of rupees was to be disposed of. Among other proposals there was a recommendation that the Hindus be left "to the practice of a usage, long established among them, of giving instruction at their own house and by our encouraging them in the exercise and cultivation of their talents by the stimulus of honorary marks of distinction and in some instances by grants of pecuniary assistance". The earnest regard of the Directors for the Hindus' advancement in education and ensuring their share in the new dispensation, fully reflected in these proposals, are further supported by their recommendation that Sanskrit language, and Benaras as a centre of Hindu learning, should receive first and exceptional treatment from the Government when the question of the allotment of grants is decided.

But in the contrast to their zeal for the educational and cultural advancement of the Hindus, the Directors of the Company in their first educational Despatch completely ignored the Muslims and their educational needs. No mention was made of the Arabic and Persian learning and no directions were issued to the Government for allocating any fraction of the petty sanctioned amount of rupees one lac for the education of Muslim community or for the development of their learning. This attitude of hostile disregard of Islamic scholarship

⁺¹ S. Nurullah, OP. cit, p. 87 (1951 edition),

Charter of 1813 and the education of the Muslims.

appears more striking when it is remembered that Lord Minto, as already mentioned, had recommended only two years earlier, in 1811, in strong words to take steps for the revival of the classical language of the Muslims and start separate schools and colleges for their children.

In fact, the Company, as noted earlier, treated the Muslims as aliens, who, in their opinion, deserved to be doomed to the perpetual plight of helots and outcastes.⁺¹ The question of their social uplift or educational betterment did not disturb their mind at all. The founding of the Calcutta Madrasah was more the outcome of a personal inclination of a Governor-General, who was interested in the languages and literature of India; rather than the result of a well-considered plan of giving the Muslims their due share after depriving them of political suzerainty more by deceit, fraud and political artifices than by fair trial of strength in the field of battle. The step-motherly treatment accorded to this only educational institution of the Muslims after the retirement of Hastings shows that it was far from the intention or policy of the Government to let it develop and prosper. The detailed history of the Calcutta Madrasah has been reserved for a separate chapter. (See Chapter VI).

Since power had been taken from the Muslims and the Hindus had co-operated with the foreigners in wars, diplomacy and conspiracies in wresting the power, it

⁺¹ According to Mr. A. R. Mullick, the British in the early days of their rule did not consider the Muslims as natives of India but as foreigners and few in number at that. With regard to Bengal this wrong impression that the Muslims formed but a small section of population seems to have been current for many years. As late as 1871-72, Major Evans Bell criticised this notion in very strong term when Grant Duff, Under Secretary of State, referred to the people of Bengal as the Hindu population. *OP. cit.* pp. 173-74 with reference to "Bengal Reversion", p. xxvii.

was but natural that the latter received preferential treatment and the Muslims were deliberately and in pursuance of a fixed policy refused any opportunity to raise their social and economic status qualifying them to claim equality with the Hindus. The Muslims, on their part brooding over the loss of their political power, showed no craving for establishing contact or harmony on national level with the foreign conquerors, of whose antipathy and national bias they were fully convinced.

Mr. A. R. Mullick has rightly observed, "Distrust of the Muslims from whom power had been recently won, and the subsequent indifferent and unsympathetic attitude towards them was natural. So was a desire to conciliate the Hindus who had co-operated in the overthrow of the Muslim political authority whatever the reasons, this neglect of the Muslim interest in education, unfortunately occurred at a time, when the increasing poverty of the community was slowly but surely throwing it into the background and when the Muslim system of education, deprived of the state patronage was on the decline."⁺¹ Under such conditions it was neither politically wise nor humanely justifiable to let an important self-respecting section of the Indian population to be lost in utter despondency and frustration. But the Directors and the Government, both, were determined to concentrate their attention and benevolent fund gestures exclusively upon the Hindu community.

Similarly, in dealing with the reforms or reorganisation of the Calcutta Madrasah the Government was

⁺¹ Lord Minto's suggestions—starting of two Zilla schools at each district for Hindus and Muslims respectively, which might have greatly benefited the Muslims, scattered over the rural areas of Bengal and Bihar—proved abortive because of straitened finance. A. R. Mullick, *British Policy and the Muslims in Bengal*, p. 174.

always guided by economic and financial considerations; while in the case of Hindu College and the Sanskrit College, improvements were not withheld on monetary grounds. In introducing courses of studies and practical subjects of modern utility, the same policy of discrimination and indifference against Muslims was observed. The same reluctance of the Government to spend additional amount upon that institution was responsible for turning down the application of the Madrasah Committee to secure a European Secretary for its management.⁺¹

Fair-minded, discerning Englishmen, connected with Indian education, had not failed to discover the lamentable backwardness of the Muslims in education. Mr. Adam, for instance, in the thirties of the nineteenth century, had drawn the attention of the Government to the Muslims in his memorable reports. In submitting plans for the improvement and extension of instruction among the Muslims, he says:—

“The measures required for Muslims a separate consideration, the more so because, the poor and uninstructed formed the most numerous portion of that population.” Adam makes a significant remark about the Muslims in this connection, “Learned Muslim men are, in general, much better prepared for the reception of European ideas than the learned Hindus; and when they shall have become convinced of the integrity of our purpose and of the utility of the knowledge, we desire to communicate; they will be found most valuable coadjutors.”⁺²

The Company's disregard of the Muslim education bordering on criminal callousness and anti-Muslim

⁺¹ A. R. Mullick on the authority of Fishers Memoirs pp. 397-98.

⁺² Adam's Report quoted by S. Nurullah, OP. cit.

prejudice, did not permit it to think of reforming and developing the extant educational system by spreading a fraction of the enormous wealth, which they appropriated from the resumption of rent-free lands and charitable endowments of the Muslims. Even an implacable enemy of the Muslims.—W. W. Hunter—was forced to admit that the Muslim system of education was capable of affording a high degree of intellectual training and polish. In the words of Dr. I. H. Qureshi “it was not a system of superstition and pseudo knowledge”. Under the Company rule even the new Western educational institutions, opened by the Government at different centres, were not made attractive for the Muslims whose desire for Western education was demonstrated in more than one way. (See Hunter's book, ‘The Indian Muslims’ ‘History of Freedom Movement’ and Adam's Report).

Yet it cannot be denied that the Charter Act of 1813, containing the educational Clause (Section 43), was an important document in as much as it determined and specified the responsibility of the Company for spending money on providing education to the Indians. It also laid down the principles on which a system of state education could be founded. These principles, good or bad, were finally incorporated in the Resolution of 7th March, 1835 and the famous educational Despatch of 1854.

But the vagueness of the provisions of the Charter in some respects, the paucity of funds provided for the purpose of education and the complete disregard of the interests of an important community (Muslims) were responsible for detracting a good deal from the practical utility of this document, which reduced its commendable provisions to ‘all timely political strategems’.⁺¹ The

⁺¹ Dr. L. P. Rawat, History of Indian Education. Book III, p. 195.

much-vaunted orientalism and admiration of indigenous system of education to which the Court of Directors of the Company gave vent in their Despatch was nothing but an attempt "to strengthen the link between the Indians and their own officials by encouraging oriental education This Charter Act did not vouchsafe any considerable project about the advancement of the cause of education."⁺¹ At best they conferred certain marks of honour and distinction upon Sanskrit scholars and showed some bounty to patronise Sanskrit learning. "Their main object was to placate the influential classes of India to safeguard their political interests."⁺² It was a significant move for a Parliament which had not yet voted any grant for the education of the people of England, but it was nothing new to the people of India who had long been accustomed to the state patronage of letters."⁺³

+1 *Ibid.*

+2 *Ibid.* p. 19.

+3 A. R. Mullick, OP. cit p. 175.

CHAPTER IV

Problems and Progress of Education

(1813 — 1835)

1. Official efforts for education.
2. Opposition to Missionaries' educational efforts.
3. Lord Moira's Despatch favours diffusion of education in India. 1815.
4. Charles Metcalf's views.
5. Growth of liberal ideas —helps the cause of educational promotion in India.
6. Development of education in Bengal—General Committee of Public Instruction formed.
7. Raja Ram Mohan Roy opposes the foundation of the Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta.
8. Development of education in Bombay.
9. Elphinstone's proposals.
10. Opposed by Warden.
11. ——— result in the development of Indian Vernacular.
12. Progress of education in Madras.
13. Munro advocates popular education.
14. The Directors oppose Munro's views.
15. Beginning of the policy of the Downward Filtration Theory of Education.
16. North-Western Provinces of Agra.
17. Progress of education in the North-Western Provinces — Experiment of mass education.

Like Portuguese sailors, earlier, the Directors of the East India Company also considered the propagation of Christianity an essential part of their duty, because without imparting religious colour to their commercial policy, they could not render the influence of the Portuguese—their national and religious rivals—nugatory. The Directors, therefore, encouraged missionaries entry into India and did not hesitate to allow them free hand in educational matters. In other words, they got a license

Official efforts for education.

to convert Indians to Christianity by all means, fair or objectionable. But this policy of open religious favouritism soon recoiled upon their heads and the Directors had to abandon it in favour of a policy of religious neutrality. The Company was still averse to assume responsibility of education on its own shoulders.

As stated in the previous chapter, in the year 1765 important and far-reaching political changes took place in India, which transformed the commercial nature of the Company. The grant of the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the Company by the Mughal emperor of Delhi gave it a convenient handle to manipulate the resulting situation in such a way as to arrogate to itself the real sovereign authority over these important provinces of India, which, in fact, opened the road to the occupation of the royal centres of the Mughal dominion. The Company became a political power and its main concern was now to provide for the stability and expansion of an empire which had fallen haphazardly into its hands. The need of the Indians' education could not be everlooked and from 1765 to 1813 some private and Government efforts were made to provide educational facilities to the Indians.

The first period of the British Commercial Company's career in India (1600—1813), though not marked by the evolution of any solid or purposeful project of education, was not yet barren of some achievements. The stirrings for new learning felt in India and contemporary England were responsible for creating a climate that ultimately forced the British Parliament in 1813 to make Indian education an important aspect of State duties and lay down an educational policy, the implementation of which was made a responsibility of the Company.

The educational plans, tantalising, half-backed though they were, yet helped to sow the seed of important developments in the course of forty years (1814—1854), which crystallised into a State system of education in India, as promised by the Charter Act of 1813. The Company, on the basis of the experience gained particularly during the years 1780-1813, made some important decisions, "which rendered their educational policy more stable and solid".⁺¹

This long period extending over a little less than half a century is subdivided into two stages, the first from 1813 to 1835 A.D., which was a period of experiments and controversies; the second from 1835 to 1854 A.D., which highlighted permanent and solid achievements and swift spread of education in every province under the sovereignty of the Company. The controlling machinery of education at the centre also was efficiently remodelled.

It is very unfortunate that at this time when important decisions were in contemplation for reorganising Indian education, there were few Indians fully trained and qualified by their public status to offer constructive, wholesome suggestions to guide official in their decisions on education. The Hindu Society, nevertheless, possessed a few leaders, specially in Bengal, like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Ishan Chander Vidyasagar and others, who, undoubtedly, succeeded in winning sympathetic attention from the bureaucrats of the Company towards their community's cultural and political aspirations. Luckily for them, responsible British officials also did not hesitate to put the weight of their personality and influence on the side of the Hindu leaders, who had foreseen which way the wind was blowing. British

⁺¹ For them, education was not an end in itself, but a means to spread Christianity. H. R. James, OP. cit., p. 23.

merchants and Company's officials evinced interest and zeal in rousing Hindu opinion in favour of new trends in learning and stimulating contacts between the Hindus and the foreigners. Among the Company's officers also there was absence of educationists to deal with problems of education The problems of education were, therefore, dealt with, as they arose, by the government in general or by the members of the Education Boards, Councils and Committees which came to be set up.

These were mostly civil and military officers who had no professional training and very often not even aptitude for education. The educational problems of India were mostly handled by amateurs and this is one of the principal reasons why educational controversies of the period were wrongly decided.⁺¹

The case of the Muslims was left to suffer by default. They still presumed to be real rulers of the land, though power had slipped from their hands. They failed to take or were denied advantage of the meagre facilities provided for intellectual advancement to the Indians. They had no hand, whatsoever, in framing the system of education, which was to control the intellectual growth of our future generation for about a century and a half. Even Government institutions meant for Muslim education, like the Muslim Madrasah of Calcutta, were entrusted to the care of persons, who chose to give preference to the educational interests of the non-Muslims and their institutions. They were, thus, outpaced in the race of education at this critical moment and the leeway thus created could not be made up even by the stupendous efforts of the great Muslim reformer Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and his band of devoted workers in the last quarter of the 19th century.

⁺¹ S. Nurullah and Naik, OP. cit., 1956 edition, pp. 48-49.

On June 3, 1814, the Directors recorded their sanction in their Despatch to the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and the revival and improvement of literature; as well as the promotion of knowledge of science amongst the inhabitants of that country. But they showed no keen solicitude for the education of the Indians on modern lines and were opposed to establishing English schools and colleges. They, rather, emphasized the need of promoting indigenous education and oriental languages. As a matter of fact, their main objective was to placate the influential classes of India in order to safeguard their political interests.⁺¹ They wrote, "we are inclined to think that the mode by which the learned Hindus might be disposed to concur with us in prosecuting those objects would be by our leaving them to the practice of a usage, long established among them, of giving instruction at their own houses and by encouraging them in the exercise and cultivation of their talents by the stimulus of honorary marks of distinction and, in some instances, by grants of pecuniary assistance."⁺² They also expressed great admiration for Sanskrit learning which, they hoped, might be made to form links of communication between the natives and the gentlemen in our service, and by such intercourse, the natives might generally be led to adopt the modern improvements in these and other sciences.

In 1813 the missionaries got license to make India a hunting ground for bagging as many converts from among the Indians as they could do. Finding it prejudicial to its political and imperial interests, the Company evaded the implementation of the Sections of the Clause 43, and for ten years the educational provisions of the Act of 1813 remained inoperative. The Directors, too,

Opposition to Missionaries' educational efforts.

⁺¹ Dr. L. P. Rawat, p. 194.

⁺² Nurullah, OP. cit., p. 88, quoting "Selections from Educational Records", Vol. I, pp. 23-24.

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⁺¹ Dr. L. P. Rawat, p. 194.

⁺² Nurullah, OP. cit., p. 88, quoting "Selections from Educational Records", Vol. I, pp. 23-24.

showed no enthusiasm in pursuing a vigorous educational policy in India till 1923, so that the existing system of education, purely oriental in character, continued to hold ground in the country.⁺¹

Lord Moira's Despatch favours diffusion of education in India. 1815.

But some high-placed responsible officials of the Company did not accept this policy of the Directors. They realised their duty of spreading education in India. Lord Moira, the then Governor-General of India, wrote a minute on October 2, 1815, in which he proposed to spend the sum of one lac of rupees on liberalising educational policy and improving schools and in making the means of education available to persons and places then out of its reach.

Lord Moira observed that since the British administration in this country in the course of more than a century has produced a new society which calls for a more liberal policy, the moral duties require encouragement of arts and literature, which adorn and embellish life. He made it clear that the fabric of a solid empire could rest fully upon the foundation of intellectual improvement of the people. His views about village school teachers were that priority should be given to the betterment of their condition under any plan of educational reorganisation. Besides this, he proposed to establish two experimental schools (one for Hindus and the other for Mohammedans) at each of the district headquarters with a view to popularising education.

Charles Metcalf's views.

Lord Moira's views were further developed and emphasised by Sir Charles Metcalf, a brilliant administrator with broad-minded sympathy. He rebutted certain

⁺¹ Thus it was peculiarly an age of experimentation. The Court of Directors, though manifestly ignorant and neutral about Indian education, were, yet, so to say, engaged in experimenting.

objections concerning the education of the Indians. In his Despatch dated September 4, 1815, he writes :—

“Similar objections have been urged against our attempting to promote education of our native subjects, but how unworthy it would be of a liberal government to give weight to to such objections. All that rulers can do is to merit domination by promoting the happiness of those under them. If we perform our duty in this respect, the gratitude of India, and the admiration of the world, will accompany our name through all ages, whatever may be the revolutions of futurity; but if we withhold blessings from our subjects, from a selfish apprehension of possible danger at a remote period, we shall not deserve to keep our dominion, we shall merit that reverse which time has possibly in store for us, and shall fall with the mingled hatred and contempt, hisses and execrations of mankind.”⁺¹

The sentiments expressed by these British administrators reflect the spirit of social reforms and humanitarian ideals, which were the order of the day in the West. England had a greater share of these liberal tendencies than any other country. Reforms were introduced in the criminal and factory legislation in England. A wave of liberalism had spread throughout the length and breadth of the country. Some important reformatory steps were also taken in the field of education.

The young British officers in India, too, were influenced by this spirit and devoted themselves to the promotion of the cause of liberal education and that of

⁺¹ Nurullah, OP. cit, p. 89, quoting “Selections from Educational Records”, Vol. I, pp. 28-29.

Growth of liberal ideas—helps the cause of educational promotion in India.

human happiness. Persons like Munro, Elphinstone and Bentinck, being inspired by these noble sentiments, put forth sincere efforts in the direction of the dissemination and improvement of education in India.⁺¹ The Court of Directors did not take long to change their former attitude and showed generosity and enthusiasm in sending orders to the Company's officials for the spread of education.⁺² The educational progress of this period in different provinces of India, briefly described here, was the tangible result of change in the outlook of Company's officials in England as well as in India. The official efforts for educational development produced marked improvement in all the three presidencies.

But the Charter Act of 1813 remained inoperative till 1823,⁺³ and it did not effect any change in the prevailing practice and system for another ten years. No appreciable educational efforts were put forth from 1813 to 1823. It was on July 17, 1823, that the Governor-General, through a resolution, appointed a General Committee of Public Instruction for the Bengal Presidency, for the purpose of "better instructions of

⁺¹ Mr. Ramesh Chander Dutt observes, "the same spirit of reform, and the same desire to promote the happiness of the people marked the policy of England and India during this progressive age; and the noble and liberal-minded statesman, who guided the destinies of England during this age, worked side by side with statesman, equally great and large-hearted, who ruled the destinies of India" (England and India, p. 32).

⁺² They wrote to the Governor General, "we wish you to be fully apprised of our zeal for the progress and improvement of education among the natives of India, and of our willingness to make considerable exercises to that important end....." (quoted by Nurullah in the monumental work, "History of Education in India". Enlarged edition, 1951, p. 90. 3 Despatch dated 18-2-1824.

⁺³ *Ibid.* OP. cit., p. 85. A. R. Mullick, OP. cit., p. 175.

the people, introduction among them of useful knowledge and the improvement of their moral character." The Company handed over all educational grants to the aforesaid Committee and set up a number of local Committees for its assistance. The General Committee of Public Instruction consisted of ten members including H. T. Prinsep and H. H. Wilson, the protagonists of oriental education. Mr. Wilson, a great scholar of Sanskrit, was appointed Secretary. The remarkable progress of the Hindu community in education was, largely, due to him.⁺¹

The Committee started its work with a view to promoting oriental education, and to this end it first of all reorganized the Calcutta Madrasah and Benaras Sanskrit College. It further established colleges for oriental education at Agra, Delhi and Calcutta. Besides, it set up, in the year 1824, an Educational Press at Calcutta and published or translated many Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian books.

But the Court of Directors of the Company did not approve the policy of the Committee and put a sort of ban upon its activities through a Despatch dated February 18, 1824, in which they observed "in professing, on the other hand, to establish seminaries for the purpose of teaching mere Hindu or mere Mohammadan literature, you (committee) bound yourselves to teach a great deal of what was frivolous not a little of what was purely mischievous and a small remainder indeed in which utility was in any way concerned".

The Committee, on the other hand, refuted the accusation of the Directors by declaring that Hindus and Mohammadans had "vigorous prejudice" against the Europeans. Therefore, they would not consent to read

⁺¹ A. R. Mullick, OP. cit., 176.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy opposes the foundation of the Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta.

European literature and the public opinion, too, runs counter to the education in European Science and other branches of learning. But this statement of the Company lost all truth and force because in Bengal Raja Ram Mohan Roy sent a strong Memorandum to the Governor-General Lord Amherst on December 11, 1823, in which he opposed the plan of establishing a Sanskrit College at Calcutta and emphasized the need of instruction in European Science and Mathematics in India. He said that Government should promote a moral, liberal and enlightened system of instruction embracing Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Physics, Chemistry Anatomy, with other useful sciences which may be accomplished with the sum proposed by employing a few gentlemen of talents and learning educated in Europe In his opinion education in Sanskrit was but a political device to keep the country in darkness of ignorance by imposing restraints upon the educational progress of the country. But no heed was paid to his opposition and the Calcutta Sanskrit College was established.

Development
of education
in Bombay.

The Presidency of Bombay was formed in 1818, when the rule of the Mahratta leader Peshwa came to end. Mountstuart Elphinstone was appointed Governor of the new province in 1818 and remained in this high position till 1827. It was a singularly good fortune of the people of Bombay that a highly cultured and polished statesman of scholarly habits like Elphinstone presided over their destiny for nearly a decade. He knew many European and Indian languages including Persian, Hindustani and Mahratti. The unique qualifications which he had acquired by holding administrative and diplomatic posts of great responsibility and his intimate knowledge of the people and their knowledge secured for him the governorship of the Province of Bombay on the extinction of Peshwaship in 1818.

His first important step on assuming the charge of the Government of Bombay Presidency was to divert a part of the sum of Rs. 5,00,000 a year, distributed by the late Peshwa to the Brahmins as alms, to the purpose of promoting Sanskrit literature and Brahmanic learning.⁺¹ For this purpose, the Poona Sanskrit College was founded in 1821. While requesting for the sanction of the sum, Elphinstone drew the attention of the Directors to the pitiable condition of the Brahmin followers of the Peshwa, whom he used to maintain with all the favour that we have shown to this class of his dependents. Great number of them are reduced to distress, and are subsisting on the sale of shawls and other articles, which they received in better times, while others have already reached the extremity of want which follows the consumption of all their former accumulation. Considering the number and the influence of this description of people, it surely cannot be reckoned unimportant towards influencing public opinion that such a sum as could be spared should be set aside for their maintenance and as it is the object of our enemies to inculcate the opinion that we wish to change the religion and manners of the Hindus, it seems equally popular and reasonable to apply part of that sum to the encouragement of their learning.⁺²

After 1823 Elphinstone began to take more vigorous interest in the educational progress of the people of Bombay. He established the "Bombay Native

⁺¹ S. Nurullah and Naik, OP. cit, p. 116.

⁺² Elphinstone's Minute on Education, para 60. These sentiments of Elphinstone, when contrasted with the anti-Islamic views and opinions expressed by the Directors and high-placed officers of the Company in Bengal and North India, clearly reveal their deep-seated and malevolent prejudice against Muslims. This incurable bias was also a pivotal point of their educational policy.

Education Society" in order to help spread modern education among the Indians. On his recommendation the Court of Directors sanctioned a grant-in-aid to the Society. Under the patronage of Elphinstone the Society rendered very useful service to the cause of education in Bombay. By the year 1840 the Society was conducting four District English Schools and a large number of primary schools at various places in the province. The primary schools of the Society in those days included among other subjects History, Geography, Algebra, Geometry, Trigonometry also. These subjects were taught through the medium of the mother-tongue. The Society conducted many primary schools in the Bombay Presidency.⁺¹

On the question of medium of instruction, there was a good deal of difference of views and controversy in Bombay, as in Bengal. The Bombay Native Education Society was of the opinion that English was not of much importance in effecting the mental and moral improvement of the Indian people; it also believed that Western knowledge could never be spread to the people through the medium of the English language alone.

In addition to the above schools, managed by the Bombay Native Education Society, the Government of Bombay had, under its direct control, two colleges, one at Poona and the other at Bombay, and 63 primary schools at Purandar in the district of Poona.

Elphinstone retired from service in 1827. The people of Bombay considered it a great loss to them.

⁺¹ The number of classes varied from six to ten. These schools, therefore, may more appropriately be described as secondary schools teaching through the medium of mother-tongue. S. Nurullah, OP. cit., p. 98.

So great was their love and regard for him that they collected a sum of rupees two lakhs in order to raise a fitting memorial to his service to the province. The Court of Directors also contributed an equal amount and the Elphinstone College was founded in 1834 out of that fund. The Directors wrote that it would be possible through this memorial to raise "a class of persons qualified by their intelligence and morality for high employment in the civil administration of India".

Elphinstone ranks among historians of the first rank. He wrote and published, while in India, a standard book on the history of "The Kingdom of Kabul and its Dependencies", and, during his peaceful days of retirement in England, he published the famous "History of India—Hindu and Mohammedan Periods", which is, even now after more than a century, an indispensable source of reference and information to historical researchers.

In spite of his deep interest in education and love for the poor Indians, he could not persuade the Company to accept and carry through his very useful proposals for the dissemination of learning and spread of literacy among them. He prepared a great Minute on education in 1824, which contained his proposals of historical value. "If they had been accepted, in toto, the progress of education in Bombay would have been very rapid." These Minutes were recorded to recommend the application of the Bombay Native Education Society for grant-in-aid to the Court of Directors and Elphinstone availed this opportunity to suggest several important measures for their adoption. He proposed that the number and efficiency of schools should be increased; the lower class Indians should be encouraged to take advantage of whatever facilities were afforded to them. Schools of higher status for teaching Western

Elphinstone's proposals.

Sciences and higher branches of learning should be started. Elphinstone also suggested that arrangement should be made for printing and publishing books of moral and physical sciences in native languages. Elphinstone was in favour of establishing schools for teaching classically to those who desired to acquire knowledge of Europe's attainments in new scientific discoveries. He was also a great advocate of the education of the poor and believed that any amount spent on diffusion of knowledge among the poverty-stricken helpless classes of the Indian Society should be gladly borne by the Government. He wrote in his Minutes, "It is difficult to imagine an undertaking in which our duty, our interest and honour are more immediately concerned. It is well understood that in all countries the happiness of the poor depends in a great measure on their education. It is by means of it alone that they can acquire those habits of prudence and self-respect from which all other good qualities spring; and if ever there was a country, where such habits are required, it is this."

Opposed by
Warden.

But Elphinstone's proposals, when placed before his Council, were bitterly opposed by a member of the Council, Warden. He was not in favour of mass education and he pleaded for confining education. In his opinion, "It is better and safer to commence by giving a good deal of knowledge to a few than a little to many, to be satisfied with laying the foundation of a good edifice and not desire to accomplish in a day what must be the work of a century." Warden's reasoning prevailed with the Directors, when the Minute was forwarded to them for orders. Thus was Elphinstone's scheme of expanding education by upholding the indigenous system of education sabotaged by the Downward Filtration Theory enunciated for the first time by Warden.

It was due to Mr. Elphinstone's broad-minded sympathy and liberality of heart that the educational institutions, which came into being in his time or by his own initiative, gave encouragement to the study of Sanskrit, English and Indian Vernaculars. The Government gave full patronage to these schools. The principles underlying this policy are fully explained in the following words of an educational expert. "In a word, knowledge must be drawn from the store of the English language, the Vernaculars must be employed as the media of communicating it, and Sanskrit must be largely used to improve the Vernaculars and make them suitable for the purpose. I look on every native who possesses a good knowledge of his own mother-tongue of Sanskrit, and of English to possess the power of rendering incalculable benefits to his countrymen."

— result in the
development of
Indian Vernacular.

The Governor of Madras, Mr. Munro, was sincerely interested in the educational progress of the Indians in his province. To ascertain the actual position and exact condition of education in districts and villages he had started an enquiry through local British officers, whose reports are considered very important documents available for the reorganisation of new system of instruction in the Madras Presidency.

Progress of
Education in
Madras.

Munro rightly ascribed the downfall of the prevailing system of education to the apathetic attitude of the Government and the miserable economic condition of the people. To provide remedial measures to these evils, he ordered for the establishment of new schools and sanctioning financial help to the existing ones. Under his order teachers training schools were established and handsome salaries were offered to trained teachers.

To further extend the benefits of his educational reforms Munro recorded his Minutes on May 10, 1826,

in virtue of which the Madras School of Book Society was authorised to print and publish text-books for schools. The Society was given a grant of rupees 70 per month for this purpose. Munro also strongly recommended the establishment of two schools of a higher order, separately for Hindus and Muslims, in each of the twenty districts. To meet expenses of these new institutions, as well as many others proposed exclusively for the Hindus, he appealed the Directors for an annual grant of Rs. 48,000. This sum was sanctioned one year after the death of Munro in 1827; but the absence of the prime mover of the scheme robbed it of the motive power which was necessary to implement it successfully.

Munro had also established the 'Committee of Public Instruction' in June, 1826, for the sake of operating this educational project. This Committee opened a normal school at Madras for the training of teachers. But progress made by the Tehsil schools, which he had opened for Hindus, was far from being satisfactory. By 1830, only seventy Tehsil schools could be opened in fourteen districts. In these schools neither the teachers received their salaries regularly nor were they inspected properly.

Munro was a man of very liberal ideas. He was a true product of the age of reform and enlightenment. His views did not suit the policy of the Court of Directors. As a matter of fact, his aim was to raise moral, mental and economic standard of the masses through education and thus to fulfil the responsibilities of the Government. He said, "We must not dream of perpetual possession, but must apply ourselves to bring the natives into a state that will admit of their governing themselves in a manner that may be beneficial to our own interest as well as their own and that of the rest of the world, and to take the glory of achievement

Munro advocates popular education.

and the sense of having done our duty for the chief reward of our exertions."⁺¹

Munro felt that it was the duty of England to educate the Indian people without any consideration of financial outlay. He stressed upon the Company that educated Indians should be taken into the service, so that they might be attracted to the attainment of learning. Munro strongly advocated the use of indigenous institutions for the spread of knowledge among the native, though he impressed the necessity of introducing suitable improvements and adjustment in these schools. Among his proposals on education, he suggested that to make the condition of the teachers attractive, a moderate allowance should be given to them by the Government. He was convinced of the importance of teachers training school.

Munro was the first officer of the Company who suggested to the Government, "to extend to Mohamaden the same advantages of education as to our Hindu subjects, and perhaps even in a greater degree, because a greater portion of them belongs to the middle and higher classes. But as their number is not more than one-twentieth of that of the Hindus, it will not be necessary to give more than one Mohammaden school to each Collectorate, where the Mohammaden population is considerably above the usual standard".⁺²

The Court of Directors in their Despatch on September 29, 1830, referring to Munro's educational project pointed out that sufficient work had been done in the sphere of elementary education in Madras Presidency and no effort has been put forth in the direction of higher education. As such, the Madras Government

The Directors oppose Munro's views.

⁺¹ Report of the Board of Education, 1840-41.

⁺² S. Nasrullah.

was asked to change their policy. The Directors observed, "A further extension of the elementary education..... and improvement of its quality..... was all that was aimed at The improvements in education, however, which most effectually contribute to elevate the moral and intellectual condition of a people are those which concern the education of the higher classes of the persons possessing leisure and natural influence over the minds of their countrymen. By raising the standard of instruction among these classes you would eventually produce a much greater and more beneficial change in the ideas and feelings of the community than you can hope to produce by acting directly on the more numerous class. You are, moreover, acquainted with our anxious desire to have at our disposal a body of natives qualified by their habits and acquirements to take a large share and occupy higher situation in the civil administration of their country than has hitherto been the practice under our Indian Governments. The measures for native education which have yet been adopted or planned at your Presidency have had no tendency to produce such persons. Measures have been adopted by the Supreme Government for placing within the reach of higher classes of natives under the Presidency of Bengal, instruction in the English language and in European literature and science. These measures have been attended with a degree of success which, considering the short time during which they have been in operation, is in the highest degree satisfactory and justifies the most sanguine hopes with respect to the practicability of spreading useful knowledge among the natives of India and diffusing among them ideas and sentiments prevalent in civilized Europe, We are desirous that similar measures should be adopted at your Presidency."¹

¹ H. Sharp : Selections, Vol. I, pp. 179-80.

The Director's Despatch clearly and unmistakably shows the real motives behind the objective of their educational policy. They did not like the idea of spreading useful education among the natives of India and thus making them conscious of their rights and privileges. This conception that education imparted to higher classes will, in course of time, permeate to masses from above, is known in the History of Indian Education by the name of "Downward Filtration Theory". The Filtration Theory in its various implications will be treated in a subsequent chapter.

In the North-Western Provinces of Agra and Delhi some individual benefactors promoted the cause of education. In 1818, Jai Narain Ghosal of Benaras donated a sum of rupees twenty thousand for the establishment of Jai Narain School at Benaras. It was an English institution conducting education in Persian, Bengali and Hindustani also. This institution was sanctioned a grant-in-aid of Rs. 3,000 per annum by the Government. In 1825, the son of Jai Narain Ghosal increased the fund by further donation of Rs. 20,000. The College (originally known as Sanskrit College) was founded in the year 1824 on the rental income worth Rs. 20,000 from the landed property of the value of one and a half lacs of rupees belonging to one Gangadhar Shastri. In Delhi District primary education was encouraged by private efforts. In 1829, Nawab Islam-ud-Daulah gave sufficient encouragement to higher education by giving a donation of Rs. 1,70,000 to the Delhi College.

The North-Western Provinces comprised the area now covered by the United Provinces (Uttar Pradesh). It was separated from the Bengal Presidency and formed into a new province. The control of educational institutions was also transferred from Bengal to the new

Beginning of the policy of the Downward Filtration Theory of Education.

North-Western Provinces of Agra.

Progress of education in the North-Western Provinces — Experiment of mass education.

Provincial Government in 1843. The Lt. Governor Thompson of this province took keen interest in the education of the people and prepared an important scheme of mass education.

Thompson had inherited from his father a strong zeal of mass education through indigenous institutions. He began his official career in India in 1823; was appointed District Officer at Azam Garh in 1832. In this capacity he acquired deep insight in and wide experience of the condition and life of the people. At the age of 39 he was appointed Lt. Governor of North-Western Provinces and worked in that position till his death in 1853.

Mr. Thompson knew that these traditional schools in every pargana and village were very popular among all classes of Indians, who wanted to send their children to these schools in preference to the colleges and schools founded and maintained by the Government, because the latter were not suited to their needs, being foreign to their national and moral sentiments. Thompson issued instructions to the District Officers to the effect that the existing indigenous schools spread over the province should be patronised for educating the people and their number and quality be increased. Unlike Munro and Elphinstone, Thompson was fortunate in securing the support of the Governor General Lord Auckland and the Court of Directors accepted the principle that the indigenous schools should be developed and improved as a means of spreading education among the people.⁺¹

Thompson was also the originator of proposing an educational levy for defraying the expenses of maintaining primary schools. In 1851, he began to levy a

tax of one half per cent on land revenue. He also persuaded the Court of Directors to pay an equal amount from the Government treasury. The schools maintained by the fund, thus raised, were popularly known as 'Halkabandi Schools'. In the Despatch of 1859, Thompson describes the Halkabandi system in these words:—

"Under this system, several villages conveniently situated for the purpose are grouped together, and in a central situation a school is established, which is not to be more than two miles distant from any of the villages forming the circle. For the support of the schools the consent of the land owners was to be obtained to the appropriation of a small percentage on the amount of the Government revenue, one per cent being the amount paid, of which half was to be contributed by the land owners and half by the Government. The voluntary consent of the land owners was prescribed as an indispensable condition of the establishment of the system in any locality."

Mr. Thompson also introduced the system of inspection of tehsil, pargana and zillah school. In 1850, it was introduced in eight districts as an experiment. A visitor was appointed in every zillah on the monthly salary ranging from 100 to 200 rupees. A sum of Rs. 500 per annum was placed at his disposal to utilise in giving prizes and awards within the district. It was the duty of the zillah visitor to prepare an annual report on the state of education in the district. He was empowered to correspond direct with the Government and to superintend the work of the subordinate agency.

⁺¹ S. Nurullah and Naik, OP. cit., p. 127.

CHAPTER V

Indigenous System of Education

1. Enquiry in Madras. 2. Enquiry in Bombay.
3. Education of Muslims in Bombay. 4. Indigenous System of Education in Bombay — facing decay.
5. Inquiries in Bengal. 6. Adam's work. 7. Adam's Reports. First Report. 8. Second Report, 1835.
9. Persian Schools. 10. Adam's Third Report, 1838.
11. Indigenous education at the beginning of the nineteenth century. 12. Potentialities of the system of indigenous education. 13. Official attitude. 14. Punjab.
15. Causes of the failure of the Indigenous System.

The institutions of traditional learning were functioning in every part of the country when the Company decided to set up enquiries into the character, extent and utility of these institutions in order to find out how far and in what shape they could be moulded to become the nucleus of the new set-up of education, which was on the anvil. With this end in view, the Company's Government issued to Governors orders to hold enquiries into indigenous education in the three presidencies.

Sir Thomas Munro, Governor of Madras, was the first man to institute enquiry in Madras in 1822. He sent orders to Collectors of different districts in the Madras Presidency to furnish detailed reports about the real state of education in their respective areas at that period. Accordingly, lists were prepared of schools which imparted only elementary education in three R's.

These lists gave complete information concerning number of students of a school with their caste, class, subjects taught, time-table as well as fees charged and other sources of income to the school.

In the comprehensive Minute prepared by Sir Thomas Munro, he stated that the population of the Madras Presidency was twelve and a half millions and the number of scholars was 1,88,000. In other words, one student out of every 67 was receiving education. These figures apply to the entire population, male and female. But since women, generally, did not attend schools, the estimate of literacy had to be confined to the male population only, which, in those days, was 64,25,000. Hence, according to the Minute the proportion of the male population receiving school education would come to one-third or one-fourth of the population; in other words, the number of boys, actually attending schools, considering the school-going age of the boy between 10 and 5, should come to 7,13,000. But the number actually attending schools was only 1,84,110, or about one-fifth. Besides, a large number of boys were receiving education at home, which totalled 26,903.⁺¹

Munro makes a significant observation which brings to light the importance of the prevailing indigenous system of our education. He says that "the state of education, low as it is compared with that of our own country, is higher than it was in most European countries at no very distant period. It has, no doubt, been better in earlier time; but, for the last century, it does not appear to have undergone any other change than what arose from the number of schools diminishing in one place and increasing in another, in consequence

⁺¹ Nurullah and Naik, "A History of Education in India", p. 4 (1951) quoting from the 'Records of the Government of Madras' No. 11, Appendix E.

of the shifting of the population, from war or other causes".⁺¹

The Madras inquiry led to the preparation of important reports submitted by the Collectors of Bellary and South Kanara districts. The former stated that there were only 533 schools for a population of nearly one million, while the number of students was 6,641. In other words, every school contained 12 students. The number of Hindu and Muslim students was 6,398 and 243 respectively. In these schools 60 Hindu girl students were also on the roll. Among these schools there was one school for English, 21 for Persian, 23 for Marathi, 226 for Telugu and 235 for Kanarese. There were also 23 Sanskrit schools for higher education. Mr. Munro admires the organisation and management of educational institutions of his time, particularly the economical aspects of education. Elementary education in those days began at the age of 5 and continued until the age of 10 years. The parents and relations of the students were usually present in schools when the teaching work started with the worship of the goddess.

The mode of education was impressive and simple. The students generally assembled in the school early in the morning and those who came first were treated with some honour and mark of distinction to induce the late comers to be punctual. They were divided in groups according to their ability and number. The monitorial system was observed. The smaller children were placed under the supervision of the elderly and abler students or monitors while the teacher taught the grown-up students himself. The teacher in a school controlled teaching and discipline of the entire school with the help of monitors. The children were taught

⁺¹ *Ibid.* p. 4.

to begin writing and gradually they were given *takhtis* (wooden boards) to write upon. The indigenous system was thus economical as well as simple. The counting of numbers and multiplication tables were committed to memory by children standing in rows and repeating the words uttered by monitors. From the report of the Collector of South Kanara it is evident that education in that district was conducted in private and no report on the state and progress of education in the district can be reliable and trustworthy unless a full account and satisfactory statistics are procured of private home schools, spread all over the district.

Mr. Elphinstone, the Governor of Bombay, ordered an enquiry into the education of the Bombay Presidency practically on the same lines as in Madras. According to the information and statistics collected, the number of schools was 1,705 and the number of students receiving education was 35,143. The population of the province, being 46,81,735, the proportion of children receiving education in Bombay was one-third of that in Madras. But as in Madras, the statistics of domestic education through private teachers were not included. It appears from the Government records and statements of Government officials of the time that elementary education was widely spread in the Presidency of Bombay. In the opinion of Mr. G. L. Prendergeast, a councillor of Bombay Governor, "there is hardly a village, large or small, throughout our territories where there is not at least one school, and in larger villages more. In every town and in larger cities where young natives are taught reading, writing and arithmetic, upon a system so economical, from a handful or two of grain to perhaps a rupee per month to the school master and at the same time so simple and effectual that there is hardly a cultivator or petty dealer who is not competent to keep his own accounts with a degree of accuracy

Enquiry in
Bombay.

in my opinion, beyond what we need with amongst the low orders in our own country.⁺¹

The monitorial system was in vogue in the province of Bombay also. Another system of education was also followed in Bombay. When a boy joined the school he was immediately put under the tuition and care of a more advanced boy whose duty it was to give him lesson, to assist him in learning and to submit a report of the young pupils behaviour and progress to the master. The scholars are generally paired off in such a way that a less advanced student sat next to one who was higher in progress and from whom he receives assistance and instruction. When the boys had made considerable progress they were seated in one row and received education directly from the master. It was the most economical system. A great advantage of this system was that the teacher got sufficient leisure to exercise vigilance on the internal discipline and management of the school and also make individual acquaintance with the progress and conduct of every student.⁺²

The reports of the existing educational statistics and institutions submitted by the officials in 1824 from nine districts of the Bombay Presidency make no mention of female education. On the contrary, in the nine reports of the nine Talukas of the South Konkan district there is a remark that 'there are no females educated'. Mr. T. B. Jarvis makes a remark that no female received education in the district, if we except few that are taught in the families of the principled Musalmans. It is evident from statements and observations made in the reports that

⁺¹ Nurullah and Naik, "A History of Education in India", pp. 17-18.

⁺² "Literacy in India", by Parulekar, p. xiii quoted by Dr. P. L. Rawat in History of Indian Education, p. 170, Nurullah and Naik, OP. cit., p. 14.

the common schools of the time were meant for boys only and that 'Native custom excludes females from the advantage of education'.⁺¹

Besides common schools in which a small proportion of Muslim boys received education, there were many indigenous schools under the management of Muslims, exclusively meant for the children of the community. In these schools Persian and, in some cases, Hindustani were taught besides lessons in the Quranic text. A Muslim educational institution worth mentioning was the Boharas College at Surat. It was maintained by private funds at the annual cost of Rs. 32,000. Mr. R. V. Parulekar remarks about this institution, "Arabic was the language taught. The scholars came from all parts of India. It was, no doubt, an object of pride not only for the Boharas, but for all the people of Western India."⁺²

The Bombay reports on education (1823-25, 1829) though they give a fairly correct picture of the indigenous educational institutions of the period, yet they are not considered reliable as far as the extent and statistics of education are concerned. The circumstances were not favourable for conducting extensive inquiry into all schools spread over rural areas; while domestic schools were deliberately left as not coming under the purview of the enquiry. In many cases people, not sure of foreign government's institutions, considered it prudent to furnish full information to enquiring officers. The fact is, however, clear that both in towns and villages, there existed indigenous schools of different categories and people took full advantage of them. It is also evident that indigenous education in Bombay was facing steady decay. The government through the

Education of
Muslims in
Bombay.

Indigenous
System of
Education in
Bombay —
facing decay.

⁺¹ Nurullah and Naik, OP. cit., p. 14.

⁺² R. V. Parulekar, OP. cit., p. xiv.

Education Department completely ignored indigenous schools and education. As a result of this indifferent and even hostile attitude, the elementary education in Bombay suffered deadly set-back and deprived masses of the light of literacy.⁺¹

Inquiries in
Bengal.

Bengal, the region covered by the Lower Ganges valley, was famous for educational and cultural activities in pre-mediaeval times, though the Muslims, when they occupied Bengal in the twelfth century, found no traces of Bengali literature, and the people were 'generally primitive in thought and culture'. The Bengali language did not produce poetic composition prior to the 14th century. It is, therefore, quite reasonable to infer that the development of Bangla literature took place under the fostering care of Muslim rulers. They ardently patronised the language of the conquered people, specially their poetry. The Bangla ballads composed mostly by Muslim peasants of Eastern Bengal are regarded best specimen of Bangla literature and are popular among village folks of Bengal. Like Hindi in Northern India, the Muslims raised the decaying indigenous Bangla to the status of a flourishing language and made it a vehicle of spirited, revitalised nobler ideas.⁺²

The Pathan and Mughal rulers equally showed surprising degree of catholicity and liberal-mindedness

+1 The Indian Education Commission, 1882, found the existence of 3,954 schools containing 78,205 students. It proves the fact that Government Statistics can neither be regarded as final and authentic, nor measuring rod for education of the rest of the country. Dr. P. L. Rawat, OP. cit., p. 170.

+2 The Muslim Year Book of India and 'Who Is Who' 1948-49 Article 'Muslim Contribution to the Development of Bengali Literature' by Qazi Motahar Husain, M.A., pp. 68-81.

in patronising Bengali literature. It was under their patronage that the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharat* were translated into Bangla verse. The Muslim rulers did not hesitate to give preference to Bengali over Persian, which was thrown to the background. The masses in Bengal for the first time in history found opportunities for literary advancement open to them. The result was that in the beginning and middle of the 19th century when the East India Company decided to take up the responsibility of providing education to Indians and in this connection undertook enquiries in the nature and extent of the traditional system of education, it found Bengal richly endowed with educational institutions of the old type.

As in Bombay and Madras it was sought to make an appraisal of the condition of indigenous education in Bengal also, but unlike the former two, enquiry in Bengal was held by a non-government official, Mr. Adam, whose labour and ardent zeal for the Indian education were responsible for the production of three important reports, which are valued as masterpieces of diligent, objective and comprehensive investigations. William Adam was an orthodox missionary. He came to India from Scotland in 1818. He joined the group of the famous Serampore Missionaries and later went to Calcutta. He studied Sanskrit and Bengali languages and evinced keen interest for Hinduism. He was a great admirer of the well-known Hindu social reformer Raja Ram Mohan Roy and became his intimate friend. 'This friendship, which lasted throughout the life of the Raja — who even provided for Adam and his family in his will — was the turning point in the life of Adam.' Like Raja he renounced religious orthodoxy and took a prominent part in the Company of his benefactor in the public life of Bengal. He was the

Adam's work.

editor of several weekly papers through which he advocated the cause of reform and spread of education in India.

Adam was deeply interested in Indian indigenous education and he requested Lord William Bentinck several times to institute an enquiry into the actual state of education in the country with a view to exploring the utility and chances synthesising it with the new system of education, which the Government desired to introduce.⁺¹ He succeeded at last in getting approval of the Governor-General-in-Council for his proposal on 20th January, 1835. Adam was the first non-official to be entrusted by the Government with the task of conducting enquiry and submitting report on the indigenous education in the province of Bengal.

Adam's Reports.
First Report.

Mr. Adam's first report submitted in 1835 is a careful and minutely prepared summary of information and statistics, which he could lay hands upon. An interesting part of this report is that which deals with the indigenous Elementary School. Adam says, "By this description are meant those schools in which instruction in the Elements of Knowledge is communicated and which have been originated and are supported by the natives themselves The number of such schools in Bengal is supposed to be very great." Mr. Adam after careful calculation was led to believe that there were one lakh such schools in Bengal and Bihar, in other words there was a village school for every four hundred persons. On the basis of the

⁺¹ In Adam's opinion, learning should not be confined to the instruction in English of a handful of men from the upper and middle classes of society. Rather, it should change the entire social structure in the manner in which the indigenous system had prevailed from time immemorial. A. R. Mullick, "British Policy and the Muslims in Bengal". p. 290.

material in his possession and calculating the number of villages and school-going children Adam has drawn the conclusion that the system of Indigenous Elementary School was extensively prevalent.

Mr. Adam's conclusion has been subjected to severe criticism and has been dubbed a myth or a legend by later writers. The controversy, it seems, mainly arises from the different definitions and interpretations of the word 'school', which has been understood in different ways. If broadly interpreted as including domestic centres of instruction also, Adam does not seem to be far from approximation of the truth. Adam himself says in his report that elementary education was divided into two kinds—public and private. The latter was communicated in private families as distinct from public schools.⁺¹ "It thus appears," says Adam in his report, "that in addition to the Elementary Instruction given in regular schools, there is a sort of traditionary knowledge of written language and account preserved in families from father to son and from generation to generation. This domestic Elementary Instruction is much more in use than scholastic elementary education and yet it is not so highly spoken as the latter.

In this second report Adam has given the result of his thorough enquiry of a single *Thana Nattore* in the district of Rajshahi in Bengal. Adam found that in a population of 1,95,296 spread over 485 villages there were only 27 elementary schools with 262 pupils. Of these 10 were Bengali schools with 167 pupils, 4 were Persian schools with 23 pupils, 11 were Arabic schools with 42 pupils and 2 were Bengali-Persian schools with 30 pupils. It appears from this report that the number of children under domestic instruction far exceeded the

Second Report,
1835.

⁺¹ Nurullah and Naik, OP. cit., p. 27.

number of pupils in elementary schools. There were no indigenous colleges of the Muslims, but the Hindus maintained 38 Sanskrit colleges. Female education practically did not exist.

Persian Schools.

According to Adam's Report, there were 4 Persian schools in Nattore containing 23 scholars, who entered the school at the age of four and a half and left it after receiving education from 4 to 8 years. The total salary of a teacher differed from four to ten rupees. The student patrons and other well-to-do persons gave charity, out of which teachers' salaries and other expenses were met.

In Persian schools instead of printed books, which were not generally available, manuscripts were in use. "At school a boy starts the alphabet by the eye and ear. When he is able to understand the forms of the letters presented to him in writing and can connect the names and the forms with each other in his mind, he is taught the thirtieth section of the Quran. After completing the studies of the holy book and even along with it, other Persian books like "Amadnama", "Pandnama", "Gulistan" and "Bostan" are taught. Mr. Adam further writes, "Upon the whole the course of Persian instruction, even in its less perfect form, has a more comprehensive character and a more liberal tendency than that pursued in the Bengali schools. The systematic use of books, although in manuscript, is a great step in advance, accustoming the minds of the pupils to form of regular composition, to collect an elegant language and to train consecutive thought, and thus adding both to stimulate the intellect and to form a taste..... The Hindustani or Urdu is the current spoken language of the educated Musalmans of Bengal and Bihar and it is a remarkable feature in the constitution of Mohammedan Society in these provinces, I infer,

throughout India, that the Vernacular language of that class is never employed in the schools as the medium or instrument of written instruction. Bengali school books are employed by the Hindus of Bengal and Hindi school books by Hindus of Bihar; but although Urdu is more copious and expressive, more cultivated and refined than either, and possesses a richer and more comprehensive literature, Urdu school books are wholly unknown. It is the language of conversation in the daily intercourse of life and in the business of the world, and it is the language also of oral instruction for the explanation of Persian and Arabic, but it is never taught or learned for its own sake or for what it contains. It is acquired in a written form only indirectly and at second hand through the medium of Persian whose character it has adopted and it is employed as a written language chiefly in popular poetry and talks and in female correspondence and often also in the pulpit. The absence of Urdu schools for the Musalman population, corresponding with the Bengali and Hindi schools for the Hindus, may explain, in some measure, the greater degradation and ignorance of the lower classes of Musalmans, when compared with the corresponding classes of the Hindu population; and the first step to their improvement must be to remove this defect."¹

Besides the school instruction, a large number of children received domestic instruction, though it was limited and imperfect. The chief reason why children were not sent to regular Elementary Schools was financial difficulty of the parents, who could not pay the school fee and were forced for the same reason to employ their children in spare time to some manual work.

¹ Adam's Report, pp. 148-151, 290-291.

Adam's Third
Report, 1838.

In this THIRD REPORT Adam gives detailed statistics collected by him personally or received through his agents from five districts, viz., Murshidabad, Birbhum, Bardwan, South Bihar and Tirbut. But the returns were collected in a hurry and are not entirely correct, while the information he gathered from others was in most cases exaggerated or underestimated. It was also found that the people, out of fear, did not reveal exact number of students, specially of girls. An important feature of his report is the statistics of literacy given by Adam for the first time. Sir Philip Hartog who is a great critic of William Adam characterises these statistics as "The first systematic census of literacy in India".⁺¹

Indigenous
education at the
beginning of the
nineteenth
century.

At the beginning of the 19th century the indigenous educational institutions were classified in several categories.

1. *Schools of learning* :—These schools were patronised separately by Hindus and Muslims for the children of their communities, but their organisation and chief feature were of the same type. Both were maintained out of the donations or endowments made by the rich or religious-minded persons of each community. The instruction in both types of schools was imparted through a classical language—Sanskrit, Arabic or Persian. They had no special buildings of their own and were held in the local temple, mosque or in the houses of some big magnate of the locality. The Hindu schools were exclusively conducted by the Brahmins for the Brahmins, and members of other Hindu sects and women were not admitted. In the Persian and Arabic schools, on the other hand, Hindu teachers and large number of Hindu students were usually found. In some schools in Bengal majority of students in Persian schools were Hindus.

⁺¹ Sir Philip Hartog, "Some Aspects of Indian Education", p. 84.

2. *The Indigenous Elementary Schools*:—The indigenous elementary school was a very useful agency for the spread of mass education. It served the children of lower strata of society. The teachers employed in these schools were men of ordinary attainments and drew meagre salary. These schools did not enjoy the patronage of wealthy people. They had no building and Adam found several schools working under a tree. "The chief merits of the indigenous system of Elementary Schools were their adaptability to local environment and the vitality and popularity they had earned by centuries of existence under a variety of economic conditions or political vicissitudes. Their main defects were the exclusion of girls and Harijan pupils."⁺¹

The indigenous schools and centres of domestic instruction were found in every part of the country including small villages, where the British failed to establish even a primary school. But in the beginning of the 19th century this system was steadily declining in consequence of unsettled political and social conditions and the growing improvement of the masses caused by the new economic and industrial factors introduced by the British rule. Mr. Adam writes in his report that "he visited several villages where he was informed that there existed several Bengali schools, which had to be closed because the masters could not earn a livelihood. At Rajshahi the indigenous education was fast declining while at another place (Pundua in the district Hugly), he was told, that it had been the practice of the Musalman land proprietors to entertain teachers at their own private cost for the benefit of the children of the poor in their neighbourhood, and it was a rare thing to find an opulent or head of a village who had not a teacher in his employment for that purpose. That class, however, is alleged to have dwindled away and scarcely any such

⁺¹ Nurullah and Naik, OP. cit., p. 41.

schools are now found to exist".⁺¹ (The italics are ours).

Mr. Campbell, the Collector of Bellary in the Madras Presidency, in his report on educational survey in his district, gives expression to the same idea, "The means of manufacturing classes have been of late years greatly diminished by the introduction of our own European manufacturers in lieu of the Indian cotton fabrics, the transfer of capital of the country from the native governments and their officers who liberally expended it in India, to Europeans and daily draining it from the land, has likewise tended to this effect..... The greater part of the middling and lower classes of the people or now unable to defray the expenses incident upon the education of their offspring, while their necessities require the assistance of their children as soon as their tender limbs are capable of the smallest labour."⁺²

Mr. Campbell laments "that of nearly a million of souls in this district, not 7,000 are now at school, a proportion which exhibits, but too strongly, the result above stated. In many villages where formerly there were schools, there are now none⁺³.....

Commenting on the indigenous system of education prevailing in India in the early 19th century, Messrs. S. Nurullah and Naik say, "Its weaker part consisted

⁺¹ Adam's Report Calcutta edition, p. 67, quoted by Nurullah and Naik, "A History of Education in India", p. 42.

⁺² Selections from the Records of the Government of Madras No. 11, Appendix "D".

⁺³ In many villages where formerly there were schools, there are now none, and in many others where there were large schools, now only a few children of the most opulent are taught, others being unable from poverty to attend or pay what is demanded." *Ibid.*, p. 43.

of the school of learning which were a relic of the middle ages and out of perspective with modern requirements. But its main strength lay in the system of elementary schools which, in spite of all their defects, were doing yeomen service to the cause of mass education."⁺¹ Dr. P. L. Rawat remarks, "This system of education, however, was of considerable importance to the country at that time. It was wholly suited to the contemporary conditions of the country."⁺²

The condemnation of the mediaeval schools of learning, which had survived keen competition and government apathy, is not fair. These schools would have risen to the level of modern Western institutions if, instead of being marked for total destruction, they had received a slight encouragement and proper regard for adapting themselves to new educational requirements of the country.

In the opinion of the authors of the monumental book "History of Indian Education", this system was capable of being developed into a national system of education by suitable improvement and extension. They observed, "Firstly we find that in most countries of the world which are now educationally progressive, the national system of education was built upon the foundations of the traditional system—in spite of its admitted and numerous defects." They cite the example of England where mass education grew out of the indigenous system of instruction although the means and instruments of communicating education was very defective. "What the voluntary school did to the cause of mass education in England, the indigenous school could certainly have done to the cause of education in India

Potentialities
of the system
of indigenous
education.

⁺¹ *OP. cit.*, p.

⁺² *OP. cit.*, p.

as a whole, if only those, in authority, had seen their way to help them to live, expand and improve."¹

Several British administrators of the Company, specially William Adam, were thoroughly convinced that a national system of education could be built up in India on the foundation of the indigenous schools. He said, "To whatever extent such institutions may exist, and in whatever condition they may be found, stationary, advancing or retrograding, they present the only true sure foundations on which any scheme of general or national education can be established. We may deepen and extend the foundation; we may improve, enlarge and beautify the superstructure; but these are the foundations on which the building should be raised..... All schemes for the improvement of education, therefore, to be efficient and permanent, should be based upon the existing institutions of the country, transmitted from time immemorial, familiar to the conceptions of the people and inspiring them with respect and veneration."¹

Adam made important and far-reaching proposals in this connection and also described the ways in which his proposed plan could be successfully worked out. He recommended that, "existing native institutions from the highest to the lowest, of all kinds and classes, were the fittest means to be employed for raising and improving the character of the people; that to employ those institutions for such a purpose would be the simplest, the safest, the most popular, the most economical and the most effectual plan for giving that stimulus to the native mind which it needs on the subject of education, and for eliciting the exertions of the native themselves for their improvement, without which all other means must be unavailing".²

⁺¹ Nurullah and Naik, p. 47.

⁺² *Ibid.*, p. 48.

Many British officers and educationists, among whom are included such well-known persons as Munro, Elphinstone, Thompson and Lietner, offered equally good plans for the development of indigenous institutions for mass education. It should also be remembered that the monitorial system in England was the offspring of the indigenous school in India. Mr. Campbell of Madras and Dr. Bell speak highly of the system of teaching with the help of monitors and using senior pupils in teaching the juniors. The monitorial system was tried successfully in spreading education in England by cutting down expenses. In India, however, this system was not utilised in reaching education to the masses, as a result of which this country lagged behind other nations in the East and West, who made rapid advances in education leaving India far behind educationally.⁺¹

Mr. Adam in his reports gave the result of his inquiries regarding the courses of studies in elementary schools, the qualifications and remuneration of teachers, the school buildings, quality and stages of instruction given in these schools as well as in the domestic schools. He took pains to survey the highest and lowest existing standards of instruction in some important districts in Bengal and Bihar.

Mr. Adam not only described the state of education prevailing in Bengal but also made recommendations for its improvement.

⁺¹ It is very important to remember that England owes a good deal to India for the spread of education among her poorer classes. Dr. Bell, a chaplain in Madras, imparted the Indian system of education for the first time to England. This system contributed to the idea of monitorial system in England and according to Messrs. Nurullah and Naik this system was the chief method by which England achieved expansion of primary education at a very low cost between 1840 and 1845.

He proposed :—

- (1) The teaching staff in the indigenous schools must be improved and inspectors should be appointed to supervise the work of teachers.
- (2) A normal school for the training of teachers should be established in each district.
- (3) Small jagirs of land should be assigned in each village for the support of teachers.
- (4) That the new scheme should be introduced in a few districts for trial.
- (5) In each district educational survey should be held giving full details of the population, the state of schools and independence in each school.

Official Attitude.

The Government of the Company, as a matter of policy and on financial grounds, were opposed to mass education in India and pressed for applying brake to it. They adopted measures strangle indigenous institutions. But enlightened officers of the Company, who were conscious of their obligation to provide for the moral and cultural welfare of their people brought under their sway, strove hard to revive the ancient and medieval institutions of public instruction as the only agency for spreading education. Mountstuart Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, one of the most remarkable scholarly administrators of the Company, gave the first place in his programme to the improvement of indigenous schools and to their extension. He was a great advocate of universal education through the medium of mother-tongue, though he was not opposed to the study of English language and literature.

Sir Thomas Munro, the Governor of Madras, who held enlightened and liberal views on Indian education, was also a champion of indigenous system of education. In his programme of educational expansion he included the opening of separate schools for Hindu and Muslim children in each *tehsil* and district. As mentioned above, he, for the first time, recognised the claims of Muslims for receiving education. Munro observed, "If we resolve to educate the people, and if we do not limit the schools to Tehsildaries, but increase their number so as to allow them for smaller districts, I am confident that success will ultimately attend our efforts."¹

But the Directors of the Company turned down the proposals of Mr. Munro and wrote in their letter of the 29th September, 1930, addressed to the Governor of Madras, "By the measure originally contemplated by your Government no provision was made for the instruction of any portion of the natives in the higher branches of knowledge..... The improvement in education which most effectively contribute to elevate the moral and intellectual condition of a people are those which concern the education of the higher classes of persons possessing leisure and natural influence over the minds of their countrymen. By raising the standard of education among these classes you will, individually, contribute a much greater and more beneficial change in the ideas and feelings of the communities than you can hope to produce by acting directly on the more numerous class. You are, moreover, acquainted with our anxious desire to have at our disposal a body of natives qualified by their habits and acquirements to take a larger share and occupy higher situations in the civil government of their country than has hitherto been the practice under our government."¹

¹ Selections from Educational Records, pp. 74—76.

Mr. James Thompson, Lt. Governor of the North-West Provinces, was in favour of mass education and he was the only Company's official who made a successful experiment in this respect. His work has been described briefly in a previous chapter. He introduced a thorough plan for the inspection and improvement of indigenous schools. These arrangements, if they had been followed in all provinces, would have contributed to the success and development of the traditional system of Indian education. Thompson's work greatly appealed to the Governor-General of India, Lord Dalhousie, who was so pleased with it that he recommended to introduce it not only in the whole of the North-West Provinces but to Bengal and Bihar also.

He wrote :—

"I beg leave to recommend in the strongest terms to the Hon'ble Court of Directors that full sanction should be given to the extension of the scheme of vernacular education to all the districts within the jurisdiction of the North-West Provinces, with every adjunct which may be necessary for its complete efficiency. I feel that I should very imperfectly discharge the obligation that rests upon me as the head of the Government of India, if, with such a record before me as that which has been this day submitted to the council, I was to stop short at the recommendations already proposed. These will provide for the wants of the North-Western Provinces, but other vast Governments remain, with "a people as capable of learning" still more "teachings". There too the same wants prevail, and the same moral obligation rests upon the Government to exert itself for the purpose of dispelling the present ignorance. Those wants ought to be provided for, those obligations ought to be met..... I hold it

the plain duty of the Government of India at once to place within the reach of the people of Bengal and Bihar those means of education which, notwithstanding our anxiety to do so, we have hitherto failed in presenting to them in an acceptable form, but which we are told upon the experienced authority of Dr. Monat are to be found in the successful scheme of Lieutenant Governor before us.

When the British acquired the Punjab, the indigenous institutions — Patshalas, Muktabs and Gurmukhi schools—were found in existence in towns and villages. They were chiefly devoted to the teaching of religion. There were Mahajani schools also in which mental Mathematics and Business method were taught. Persian was a compulsory language for Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs. It was a *lingua franca* in the province and was patronised by the official and literary classes. The teachers were mostly Muslims, but Hindu students attended the schools in large number, as the acquisition of Persian was a necessary qualification for securing jobs and earning livelihood.

Punjab.

The Punjab Government was favourably placed for educational work in as much as it could avail of the wisdom gained in the sister province (North-West Province) and it was spared the necessity of repeating the mistakes of the past."¹

The scheme of James Thompson, tried and found successful in the North-West Provinces, was followed in the Punjab also. The indigenous system of education was given a fair trial and old institutions were patronised. The chief characteristic of these institutions was that

¹ History of the Growth and Development of Western Education in the Punjab, 1846—84, by Mehta.

teachers and parents of the children came in direct personal touch and co-operated with each other to watch with interest the welfare of students and the institutions. Moreover, the basis of education in these schools was religion. In fact, education and religion went hand-in-hand, with the result that instructions became morally effective. The personal bond between teacher and his pupil contributed to the healthy formation of student's character.

The above survey of the indigenous system of education, as it worked in the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the East India Company under directions from the Court of Directors had taken into hand the formulation of a comprehensive policy of India, will not fail to convince that the traditional system of education was quite capable of bearing fruitful results. The British officials, whose views counted, had experimented on this system and were so convinced of its inherent value and potentialities that they did not hesitate to recommend its introduction, with suitable modifications to all the provinces of Company's dominion.

But the British bureaucracy paid no heed to it; "the officers of the Education Department allowed the indigenous system to die and spent their time and energy in creating a new system of educational initio".⁺¹

⁺¹ S. Nurullah and J. P. Naik have mentioned with pride the role of one Dr. Bell, the Presidency chaplain of Madras, in realising the value of the indigenous system of teaching with the help of monitors by which the teacher was able to manage a large number of pupils at a time. Dr. Bell advocated the adoption of this system in England and succeeded in his effort. They observe, "It is an irony of fate that the indigenous schools of India should, thus, contribute to the spread of education in England and be of no avail of spreading mass education in India herself." History of Education in India, pp. 49-50.

The real cause of the failure of the indigenous education was that after 1823 the Government had resolved to introduce Western education in India. The foreign rule having been firmly established, there was no need of placating Indians by offering the sop of native system of education. Hence it began to show studied indifference bordering on contempt to the large number of elementary schools of old type that were spread over the whole country. They were either put an end to make way for reformed and modernised schools, or were left uncared to die.

It is also a fact that a section of Indians had lost faith in the utility of these traditional schools in view of the growing popularity of English and English schools. It was essential to learn English in order to get high posts in the Government.⁺¹

But the main reason of the downfall of the indigenous schools was the extreme poverty and indigent condition of the common people. The Government also being short of fund could not afford help to the English institutions, demand for which was increasing as well as the decadent and crumbling monuments of the past which still lingered on. The Government, therefore, thought it more profitable to support the English schools. The combined effect of all these factors was that, "in many villages where formerly there were schools, there are none now; and in many others where there were large schools, now only a few children of the most opulent are taught, others being unable from poverty to attend or pay what is demanded."⁺²

⁺¹ "The cry of instruction in English was universal and the boys at schools thrust their vernacular books into the hands of the teachers and insisted on being taught English." Stork, 'Vernacular Education', quoted by Hartog.

⁺² Adam's Report.

Causes of the failure of the Indigenous System.

With so many and so overwhelming odds to face, it is not strange that indigenous system of education could not survive.⁺¹ But none can deny that this system was of considerable importance to the country at that time, "if the modern system of education were evolved on the pattern of indigenous education and the Department of Education were to devote itself to the development of this system, education in India would have far more economical, suitable and substantial"⁺²

The result of the destruction of indigenous schools have been far more terrible. In the words of S. Nurullah "attempts were made by the officers of the East India Company and later by the Education Departments to create a new system of education in India. For several reasons the process was slow, and it could hardly compensate for the loss of the indigenous schools⁺³" The combined result of all these factors was that this popular system of mass education began to decline fastly. The economic deterioration, which was the outcome of a cleverly planned scheme of the British Government, contributed more than anything else to this eventuality. The officers of the East India Company made education merely a part of their imperial policy. They believed that by spreading their language, religion and knowledge among the Asiatics they would be able to strengthen their hold over the people they ruled. The Directors of the East India Company would readily give aid to

⁺¹ The employment of incapable, ignorant teachers, who alone could be attracted to the teaching profession due to meagre and uncertain remuneration, was another powerful reason which led to the disappearance or deterioration of the indigenous institutions of education in the 19th century.

⁺² Dr. P. L. Rawat, p. 175.

⁺³ S. Nurullah and Naik, OP. cit., p. 50.

the institutions which might press on the people "sentiments of esteem and respect for the British nation", and by impressing upon them that the foreign Government was so favourable to the rights and sentiments of the people.

The Educational Clause of the Charter Act of 1813 had recognised the education as one of the items of administration. Macaulay's report in 1835 laid down that the medium of instruction in schools should be English and Government's object in education should be to spread European knowledge among the Indians. The 'Downward Filtration Theory' of the Government put the last nail in the coffin of the traditional or indigenous system by giving up the plan of mass education.

CHAPTER VI

Linguistic Controversy Settled

1. Anglicisation of Education. 2. Company indifferent to spread of education in India. 3. Agitation for introducing Western education in India. 4. Ambiguity of the Act of 1813 leads to Contradictory decisions on educational issues. 5. Educational Issues. 6. The Orientalists. 7. The Occidentalists or Anglicists. 8. The General Committee of Public Instruction failed to give correct lead in education. 9. The Downward Filtration Policy. 10. Controversy over the Medium of Instruction — Macaulay's role. 11. His Historic Minute. 12. Macaulay's interpretation of Educational Clause of 1813. 13. — His condemnation of indigenous languages. 14. — His passionate advocacy of English. 15. Bentinck endorses Macaulay's proposals. 16. Resolution of March 7, 1835. 17. Criticism of Macaulay's Minute — condemnation of native languages betrays his ignorance. 18. — his attack on Oriental culture and religion — uncalled for. 19. — his linguistic plan calculated to disrupt the Indian's cultural unity. 20. In defence of Macaulay. 21. Macaulay's plan — a hindrance to mass education. 22. Resolution of 1835 — a set-back to Muslim education. 23. Factors contributing to Muslims' backwardness in education. 24. Muslims frustrated. 25. Educational policy of Lord Auckland. 26. Lord Auckland's Minute — 1839. 27. Language Controversy settled. 28. Development of Education 1835—53. 29. Education for Government service. 30. Increase in Missionary Schools. 31. Bombay. 32. The Board of Education. 33. Medium of

Instruction issue tackled in Bombay. 34. Progress of education in Madras. 35. North-Western Provinces of Agra and Oudh. 36. Halka-Bandi Schools. 37. The Punjab. 38. Conclusion.

The years 1757 and 1765 are very important in the calendar of the decaying Mughal Kingship, as well as in the rising fortune of the Company in India. The territorial gains and the vast plunder harvested by Clive's machivellian tactics at the battle-field in 1757 were legalised and even further augmented by force and fraud at the field of Buxar and by the terms dictated by the victors at Allahabad in 1765. Mr. P. E. Roberts, in his book, "History of British India", writes :—

"The Revolution of 1756-57 was not primarily or solely the conquest of an Indian province by a European trading settlement. It was rather the overthrow of a foreign (Muhammedan) government by trading financial classes, native (Hindus) and British; the latter took prominent part in the actual events and alone succeeded to the political sovereignty. The fall of the Muhammedan power was precipitated by its internal dissensions."⁺¹

To serve their political ends the officers of the East India Company and the Directors at home exploited education to serve their political and imperial objectives. "Hence their policy varied from time to time. The motive behind the educational policy was also changed along with the change of the objective policy of the government."⁺² The officers of the Company

Anglicisation
of Education.

Company indif-
ferent to spread
of education in
India.

⁺¹ P. E. Roberts, OP. cit.

⁺² K. C. Vyas, "Development of National Education in India", p. 40.

were convinced of the truth of the views expressed by Charles Grant who wrote :—

“By planting our languages, our knowledge, our opinions and our religion in our Asiatic territories we shall probably have wedded the inhabitants of these territories to our country”.⁺¹ The Directors of the Company did not hesitate to offer aid to the institutions, which showed inclination to thrust upon the students “sentiments of esteem and respect for the British nation by acquainting them with the leading features of our government so favourable to the rights and happiness of mankind.”⁺²

The Company was not, however, converted completely to this view and it expressed reluctance in carrying out the directions of the Court of Directors in this respect till the end of 18th century. It did not hesitate to incur the displeasure of the missionaries by laying a ban on their educational activities, which were, in fact, a means to popularising Christian doctrines among Indian youths. The Government policy, since the beginning of educational efforts, had been to promote the teaching of oriental languages and literature mainly on “consideration of religious prejudices of the Indians which the Government had always been careful not to rouse”.⁺³

But, as we have seen, at the beginning of the 19th century the new recruits to the British bureaucracy of the Company and the disciples of Charles Grant in

⁺¹ Quoted by K. C. Vyas, OP. cit.

⁺² *Ibid.*, OP. cit., quoted from H. V. Hampton. “Biographical Studies in Modern Indian Education”, p. 2.

⁺³ A. R. Mullick, OP. cit., p. 181.

England gathered sufficient strength to raise a violent storm in the Parliament for spreading Western education through the medium of English and granting permission for unrestricted immigration of European missionaries into India for starting and organising educational efforts in the country. The result was the enactment of the Charter Act of 1813 and the issue of the first Educational Despatch on 3rd June 1814.

The Education Clause in the Charter saddled the Company with the responsibility of providing education to the children of the soil. But the Company did not show any eagerness for the dissemination of education, with the result that the sum allocated for this purpose was left to accumulate till as late as 1923.

The Clause itself was extremely vague and defective. In the words of Sharp, “It did not specify exactly the amount to be spent on education. This defect was responsible for the Directors’ rebuke on the Governor-General W. Bentinck in 1829 for spending more than one lac, though from the wording of the Clause it appeared as if the Governor-General was empowered to spend anything above one lac of rupees.”⁺¹ The Court of Directors of the East India Company failed to give definite ruling and clear directions on issues arising out of the ambiguous wordings of the Charter Act of 1813 concerning the objective of the educational policy of the Government and the methods and medium to be adopted for the spread of education in India. The Directors sent some time contradictory orders to the heads of the three Presidencies, when they referred educational problems of their provinces to them for final decision. The officers of the Company in India were also divided in their views on the fundamental

Ambiguity of the Act of 1813 leads to Contradictory decisions on educational issues.

⁺¹ Sharp, OP. cit., p. 22, quoted by A. R. Mullick, p. 172.

conception of the Government about education. S. Nurullah observes, "Had they (Directors) given a definite ruling on the subject, all servants of the Company would have been compelled to accept it and the development of education in India would have been more rapid and harmonious. But prior to 1853, the Directors seemed unwilling to come to a definite decision.⁺¹ In fact, they agreed with each school and differed from all." The Indians for whose benefit the Company had assumed responsibility of education had no say in the framing of the educational plan.

This failure of pronouncing a decisive ruling on Indian education was really the outcome of the lack of experience in the State system of education among the framers of policy because England had not, till then, assumed responsibility of educating the nation. The Court of Directors, consequently, thought it wise to keep their mind open and give trial to various plans and schemes submitted to them from time to time and not to come to a final decision on apparently contradictory issues; till they had fully and comprehensively surveyed all such plans. Such trials and serious errors are a chief feature of the handling of educational problems till the year 1854.⁺²

There were several important issues concerning Indian education, each of which created bitter difference of opinion, but it was on the medium of instruction that a sharp controversy arose in official and non-official circles in India and it continued for several years before it was decided in the time of Lord William Bentinck (1828—1835) by Macaulay's 'obiter dictum' endorsed thoughtlessly by the Governor-General.

⁺¹ S. Nurullah, p. 51.

⁺² *Ibid.*

The Orientalists held that "the literature meant to be revived and encouraged was the literature of the two great classes of population—the Muslims and the Hindus". As regards the spread and expansion of science, their opinion was that they should be taught through the media of Arabic, Sanskrit and Persian. In the General Committee of the Public Instruction, which had become the chief battleground for the two contending linguistic factions the Orientalists zealously fought for the preservation and promotion of Oriental institutions and sanction of award of scholarships and stipends to the seekers of Eastern literature; published several volumes in Arabic, Sanskrit and Persian. Books on science and Western literature were rendered into Oriental languages. The Orientalists were firmly opposed to the use of English as the medium of education. On the other hand, they were eager to develop a few more institutions, like the Calcutta Madrasah and the Benaras Sanskrit College, which functioned under British supervision. The Oriental Party comprised older members of the Company's service. It was led by Mr. H. T. Prinsep, the then Secretary of the Government of Bengal, Education Department.

The Orientalists' attitude, if fairly examined, was not of uncompromising hostility to the English language or Western science. While conceding the importance of "creating a taste for English science and literature among the natives", they held it to be their duty also to help the traditional languages and literature of the common people and to revive and extend the cultivation of the same. "They preferred the engraftment of the Western learning upon the extant Oriental systems of education by way of improvement. The Orientalists only wanted fair field and no favour to all the prevailing systems of education till public opinion among Indians had been crystallised."⁺¹

⁺¹ Mr. Boeman Behrani, "Educational Controversies in India", p. 261. V. R. Taneja, p. A. R. Mullick, p.

The Occidentalists or Anglicists.

Opposed to them were the Occidentalists, consisting mostly of the younger officials of the Company, who had breathed in the same atmosphere of imperial arrogance and cult of national superiority, which were the main features of Macaulay's Character also. They held that Oriental system of education was slow and detrimental and it would be a futile attempt, a waste of energy and wealth, to attempt to engraft the new system of education upon the old stock of Oriental learning. They supported the idea of diffusing Western sciences and literature among the Indian masses through the medium of English. They believed that the Indians were eager to learn Western sciences and literature and they would welcome the utilisation of the entire allocation of the Government grant for the purpose of spreading Western education among Indians.⁺¹

But both the Oriental and Occidental parties had one thing in common... both were inimical to the development of indigenous languages with a view to employing them as media of instruction. They firmly held that these languages deserved to be discarded, as "being 'crude and poor', and incapable of expressing scientific and literary ideas", essential for liberal education.

The General Committee of Public Instruction since the beginning of its career in 1823 had not followed a

⁺¹ The Occidentalists or Anglicists, as opposed to the Orientalists, took up an uncompromising attitude over the issue of the medium of instruction. In the Resolution which they manoeuvred to carry through the Sub-Committee of the General Committee of Public Instruction in 1834, taking advantage of the absence of Mr. Prinsep, the most outspoken champion of Orientalism, they declared "that from the present day no student be elected to a scholarship unless on the express condition of studying English as well as Arabic. cf. A. R. Mullick, OP. cit.,

The General Committee of Public Instruction failed to give correct lead in education.

definite or consistent policy in dealing with the problems of education and educational institutions under its control. "Particularly was there no settled policy with regard to the medium of instruction and the members of the Committee numbering ten in all and even the high officials of the Government differed widely on the question."⁺¹

The Committee which, though faced with sharp division, had clung to its predilections for orientalism. It had two other factors which came into operation. "These were, firstly, Christian Missionaries, and secondly, a spontaneous demand for liberal education on the part of some more advanced, thinking members of the Hindu community in Calcutta."⁺²

⁺¹ A. R. Mullick, OP. cit., p. 194.

⁺² H. R. James, OP. cit., p. 13. Some British writers on Indian education under the Company have tried to prove that it was not Macaulay who accelerated the pace of English education among the Indians. Long before his arrival and his historic minute, the foreign language had become popular in India. The establishment of the Hindu College at Calcutta in 1816 with the declared object of instructing the Hindus and European and Asiatic languages and sciences is a clear indication in what direction the wind was blowing. This institution rose so rapidly in popularity for reason of imparting western learning and language that the limit of 100 boys was abolished in 1825 and fees were introduced. In 1819 the Calcutta School Society had been founded for the same purpose and it established Arpooley Patshala, which later developed into the Hare School. In Bombay and Madras also, where the progress of the study of English was not so advanced as in Bengal, the beginning of the liberal education has been made.

See H. R. James, OP. cit., pp. 17-18.

(Continued on Page 110)

Yet another important issue arose over the aim of education, which got mixed up with the language controversy. The westerners pleaded warmly that only higher classes of society should be educated, because, they held, in that case it was quite evident that education will ultimately filter down to the lower classes by their contact with them and thus masses will have the benefit of learning. The discussion of Downward Filtration Policy, its implications, its effects on Muslim education and its fate has been reserved for another chapter.

But the General Committee was not slow to realise that among the Indians themselves the desire of learning English and science was growing. Raja Ram Mohan Roy's protest against the foundation of a Sanskrit College at Calcutta was clear pointer to the fact that English being the language of the rulers, was rising in popular conception, as a royal road to Government service, respectable professions and success in business. Hence demand for introducing its study in schools and colleges was rapidly increasing in the beginning of the

(Continued from Page 109)

Arthur Mayhew, a thoughtful writer and analyst of the British Educational Policy writers in the same strain :-

"Let it may be remembered that he (Macaulay) was not the prime mover, that his intervention was late and that the forces which he represents would probably have been successful without his singularly tactless and blundering championship. The movements towards anglicisation originated in missionary and Hindu quarters before Macaulay had begun to sharpen his pen ... And it was fostered by Hindu support for many years after he had left India." (Education of India). But even James had to admit that "Macaulay's influence as a determining factor in the fortune of this English education was very great. He decisively determined the inclination of state influence to the side of English education". This view approximates truth more than the dictum of Mayhew.

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The Government furnished all possible facilities for opening English schools or adding English classes to the institutions meant for the Hindus. Here also, Muslims received no encouragement in this direction from any official or non-official quarter. Mr. Lumsden, member of the Madrasah Committee and a great Orientalist, was trying hard to get permission for opening English classes at the Madrasah, the only institution for the Muslims in the vastly Muslim populated province, Bengal. A proposal for the reorganisation of the English class at the Madrasah came before the Committee for discussion in 1834. This proposal created a crisis in the Committee meeting, because some members took it to the higher level of a general principle; whether English or Oriental languages should be the medium of instruction. The members were equally divided on two sides.

When the controversy on the medium of education was raging furiously in the Committee, Macaulay landed in India on June 10, 1834, as Law Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council. He was appointed President of the General Committee of Public Instruction. He attended the meeting of the General Committee, but refrained from expressing his views on the issue of the medium of education. But when the proposal emerged from the Committee and was forwarded to the Governor-General in Council for final orders in January, 1835, Macaulay was asked to give his opinion whether the amount of one lac of rupees allocated for education in 1813 can be legally utilised in any other possible mode than on Oriental education alone. He was also required to interpret the implication of the Section concerning education in the Charter.

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Macaulay recorded his opinion in a Minute which has become famous in history for eloquent gibes and high-flown 'superlatives', used in advocating the demolition of the structure of ancient civilisation, learning and literature of India and presenting English language and European sciences in the garb of a panacea for all social, cultural and economic evils of the Indian, specially the Hindu society. He seems to have been carried away by a bloated sense of the superiority of everything, specially learning and civilisation of the West and a mistaken belief that it was the duty of Englishmen to convey all these blessings of foreign culture to the coming Indian generations through the English language. On February 2, 1835, this grandiloquent, high sounding Minute was submitted to the Governor-General-in-Council in the words of Mr. T. N. Siqueira "weak as the premises were, sweeping as were the generalisation, patent as was the ignorance and prejudice behind the judgments, the conclusion carried conviction", with the Council and on March, 7, 1835, Lord William Bentinck issued a proclamation containing the following orders:—

- (i) The great object of British Government is to promote European literature and sciences in India. Hence all educational funds should be spent on English education.
- (ii) The Oriental institutions should not be abolished. Their teachers should be given salaries and students stipends as formerly.
- (iii) In future, books on Oriental languages should not be published, and no portion of the fund shall inordinately hereafter be so employed.
- (iv) The money saved in this manner should be utilized in the work of disseminating English literature and sciences among the natives of India through the medium of English language.

Thus Macaulay gave a different interpretation to the phrases 'revival of literature' and 'learned natives' contained in Section 43 from that which the Orientalists had hitherto accepted, and threatened that he would propose an amendment to this Section of the Charter Act of 1813, if his views were not accepted. He regarded the money spent on the maintenance of Sanskrit, Arabic or Persian institutions as preposterous wastage of it. According to his view, no argument was valid which snatched from the Government the right on closing the existing institutions, specially when they were proving detrimental to general interests. Comparing the Calcutta Madrasah with the Hindu College, he showed that the former was not so useful. He wrote, "During the last three years about sixty thousand rupees have been expended in this manner. The sale of Arabic and Sanskrit books during those three years has not yielded quite one thousand rupees." He further observed that students receiving education in Sanskrit and Arabic institutions have to be given financial help by the Government but the students of English schools, on the contrary, are willing to pay fees. "Under the circumstances", he maintained, "the Oriental institutions should be closed down. He said that in his opinion the Viceroy had as much authority in stopping the expenditure incurred on Arabic and Sanskrit education as in lessening the prize awards to the tiger hunters in Mysore."

Macaulay argues in his famous Minute: "It seems to be the opinion of some of the gentlemen who compose the Committee of Public Instruction that the course which they have hitherto pursued was strictly prescribed by the British Parliament in 1813..... It does not appear to me that the Act of Parliament can, by any art of interpretation, be made to bear the meaning which has been assigned to it. It contains nothing about the particular languages or sciences which are to be studied.

Macaulay's interpretation of Educational Clause of 1813.

A sum is set apart for the revival and promotion of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories. It is argued, or rather taken for granted, that by literature Parliament can have meant only Arabic and Sanskrit literature, that they never would have given the honourable appellation of 'a learned native' to a native who was familiar with the poetry of Milton and the physics of Newton....."

— His condemnation of indigenous languages.

Then Macaulay took the problem of the medium of instruction. He emphasised that English was the fittest of all the media of education. He condemned indigenous languages saying "all parties seem to be agreed on one point that the dialects commonly spoken among the natives of this part of India contain neither literary nor scientific information and are, moreover, so poor and crude that, until they are enriched from some other quarter, it will not be easy to translate any valuable work into them. It seems to be admitted on all sides that the intellectual improvement of those classes of the people who have the means of pursuing higher studies can, at present, be effected only by means of some language not vernacular amongst them ... One half of the Committee maintain that it should be English. The other half strongly recommended Arabic and Sanskrit. The whole question seems to be, which language is the best worth knowing? He himself thus answers this question.

— His passionate advocacy of English.

"The claims of our own language, it is hardly necessary to recapitulate. It stands pre-eminent even among the languages of the West Whoever knows, has ready access to all the vast intellectual wealth which all the wisest nations of the earth have created and hoarded in the course of ninety generations. It may safely be said that the literature now extant in that

language is of greater value than all the literature which three hundred years ago was extant in all the languages of the world together. ... In India English is the language spoken by the ruling class of natives at the seat of Government. It is likely to become the language of commerce throughout the seas of the East."

Brushing aside the question of indigenous languages he had the vanity and arrogance to observe, a single shelf of good European literature was worth the whole literature of India and Arabia.

Macaulay's Minute was submitted to the perusal of Prinsep in order to enlist his views on it. He tried to assail the arguments put forth by Macaulay and submitted his views on the necessity of adopting Sanskrit and Arabic as media of instruction, and continuity of such institutions of Oriental education as the Calcutta Madrasah and Benaras Sanskrit College. Some of his arguments were veritably sound and incontrovertible, but when he submitted his Minute on February 15, 1835, his arguments could not prevail on the Government.

Lord William Bentinck was, indeed, a progressive ruler. He wanted to bring about certain radical reforms in India. In his opinion, adoption of English as medium of education was, in itself, an important reform, which he had supported from the very beginning. Moreover, as a practical administrator and far-seeing statesman, he had visualised the material advantages that could accrue from the adoption of English as medium of instruction. He was contemplating the abolition of Persian "as the language of courts and high offices". It also afforded a means to the solution of the problem immediately confronting him — the supply of competent and trustworthy native servants of the Company. In addition to all these prospects of material advancement and

Bentinck endorses Macaulay's proposals.

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administrative improvement, Bentinck was also looking forward to "substantial increase in revenue from commercial and industrial intercourse with the West opened up by education to the resources of the East".⁺¹ The Governor-General, even without taking the trouble of going through the "trenchant statement of the case" carefully, put the seal of his approval on March 7, 1835.

Resolution of
March 7, 1835.

Lord William Bentinck's Resolution gave to Educational Policy in India a definite form. It was, no doubt, the first declaration of Indian Government in the sphere of education, which determined eventually the aim, means and medium of education in the country. Though he adopted English as medium of education and prohibited the publication of books in Oriental languages, yet he did not close down the existing Oriental institutions nor were grants-in-aid, enjoyed by these institutions, withdrawn.

H. R. James writes, "Undoubtedly it was a turning point of *the very greatest importance*; (italics are ours) for from this time onward to the present the promotion of liberal education by means of English has been the acknowledged, though by no means, the exclusive aim of the Government Educational Policy. The battle was fought and decided in Bengal; but its effect was universal in range." James also refers to a similar statement of Mr. Sathianadhan from his 'History of Education in the Madras Presidency'. He writes, "This Minute set at rest the question as to what should be the character of the instruction imparted in the Government schools and colleges; whether Oriental or European. It is a question which was never raised in Madras, but the decision of which was equally important to this Presidency as to Bengal, for if the advocates of oriental education had carried their point, the Oriental system

⁺¹ Cf. Mayhew, "The Education of India", p. 18.

would probably have been adopted all over India."⁺¹ Macaulay's Minute has an important place in the History of Indian Education Policy. The Charter Act of 1813 was a turning point in the development of education in India, but Macaulay's Minute gave it a clear direction as well as a definite and final shape.

But no one can say that it is above criticism. Macaulay's condemnation of the native languages as "undeveloped, crude and poor", is the result of his ignorance. The General Committee of Public Instruction, of which Macaulay was the President, far from being convinced of Macaulay's reasoning, wrote in their report of 1836, "We are deeply sensible of the importance of encouraging the cultivation of the vernacular languages. We do not conceive that the order of the 7th March precludes us from doing this, and we have constantly acted on this construction..... We conceive the formation of a vernacular literature to be the ultimate object to which all our efforts must be directed."⁺²

Criticism of
Macaulay's
Minute—
condemnation
of native
languages
betrays his
ignorance.

His unfair attack on Oriental culture and religion was another grave charge that can be brought against him. He ridiculed Indian religions, learning, philosophy and literature, which shows that he was utterly ignorant of Eastern learning and languages. He had come to

— his attack on
Oriental culture
and religion—
uncalled for.

⁺¹ H. R. James, OP. cit., pp. 23-24.

⁺² Macaulay sadly overlooked the claim of the spoken languages. In the words of Mr. Wilson, Macaulay failed to appreciate that a "national literature can only co-exist with a national language; and that as long as knowledge is restricted to a foreign garb, it can be the property of only few..... The exclusive use of English was unjust to native literary classes and was of no benefit to the bulk of the population. (See "Educational Thought and Practice", by V. R. Taneja, p. 246).

India from England with certain definite views and pre-conceived notions about Indian civilisation and culture. This explains his outright condemnation of Indian and Arabic literatures by comparing them to a single shelf of European library.⁺¹

— his linguistic plan calculated to disrupt the Indian's cultural unity.

Macaulay felt pride in paving by his linguistic plan the path of producing a class of educated Indian people who, having been brought up in Western culture and lost to all contact with the general masses of the country, be always ready to exploit Indian people in collusion with the Britishers. He was confident that his momentous decision will result in disrupting the religious and cultural unity of Indian people, as is evident from a letter he sent to his father in 1836 in which wrote :—

“Our English schools are flourishing wonderfully. We find it difficult indeed, in some cases impossible to provide instruction for all who want it..... The effect of this education on the Hindus is prodigious. No Hindu who has received an English education ever remains sincerely attached to his religion. Some continue to profess it as a matter of policy, but many profess themselves pure deist, and some embrace Christianity. It is my firm belief that, if our plans of education are followed up, there will not be a single idolator among the respected classes in Bengal thirty years hence. And this will be effected without any efforts to proselytise; without the smallest interference with religious liberty,

⁺¹ “Macaulay was a product of England of that period which marked the culmination of the power of the English people. They left their shores with the aim of accomplishing political and cultural conquests in other parts of the world steeped in the conviction that their language and culture were supreme on the globe. Macaulay came to India fully armoured with this belief.” Dr. P. L. Rawat, OP. cit., p. 218.

merely be the natural operation of knowledge and reflection.⁺¹

Macaulay had put faith in the “utilitarian virtue” of the Western education, and had set aside its ‘cultural value’. He laid stress on the acquisition of the English language and not on the acquisition of knowledge, which was more desired. The Hindus were attracted to English for the sake of lucrative employment. The real spirit of learning science and literature and acquiring knowledge for its own sake was not developed.⁺²

As regards his conception of creating a class of higher escutcheon of persons well versed in Western learning, who would pass on their knowledge to the lower strata of society, he only succeeded in introducing a further classification in the class-ridden society which was too self-centered and self-conceited that it despised to mix with members of lower class and let them have the benefit of their learning and knowledge. This attitude helped develop a corroding sense of inferiority and complexity among common people. The caste barrier was further strengthened. The Resolution of the 7th March was adopted with “undue hastiness and impatience”, and it may properly be considered as a rash act.⁺³ In the words of Boman-Behram, an impartial critic, “it was too exclusive in its declaration; it created doubts and suspicion..... It brought forth complaints and solicitations from the sections of populace whose interests and feelings it seemed to set at naught”.⁺⁴

⁺¹ Traveyan “Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay”, Vol. I, p. 455. But future events clearly showed how absurd Macaulay's expectations were!

⁺² Compare V. R. Taneja. OP. cit., p. 246.

⁺³ Ibid., p. 244.

⁺⁴ Boman-Behram.

Thus it is evident that this talented Englishman, outwardly professing religious neutrality, had been carrying on a shameful and vicious propaganda against Indians, particularly the Muslims. But his dream of converting the Indians into blind imitators of Westernism could not materialise. Arthur Mayhew observes forcibly that "the direct effect of Western ideas and methods is felt within a very small, though perhaps an important section of population that it is within this small section that friendship between Englishman and Indian is becoming increasingly difficult every year, that Western culture far from driving out its Eastern rival has indirectly fostered a belief in that rival's merit and determination to make good its claim before the world and that the moral superiority of Europe is widely questioned and by many denied".⁺¹

In defence of
Macaulay.

But let it be said to Macaulay's credit that his powerful support to the spread of Western thoughts and sciences amongst the Indians brought about political, scientific and economic awakening in India through the popularity of English language. The Indians learnt English, took inspiration from it, developed national consciousness, struggled for freedom and eventually came out victorious.⁺²

In fairness to Macaulay we have to admit that even before the arrival of Macaulay English literature, English education and desire for the knowledge of science had been growing in popularity in the territories under the Company. In the words of Mr. H. R. James, "organised instruction on modern lines and the beginnings of liberal education in Bengal must be dated from 1816 rather than from 1835". In support of his statement he further remarks that when he (Macaulay)

⁺¹ "The Education of India", p. 22.

⁺² P. L. Rawat, OP. cit.

arrived in India the Hindu College was working in Calcutta on the lines, since known as English Education, the Elphinstone Institution in Bombay and schemes for institutions on the same model in Madras were reopening.⁺¹ The Hindu College in Calcutta had 400 Hindu students on roll; while there were several private English schools of the Hindus in Calcutta brought into being by British officers' help; to which they also gave generous subscriptions for maintenance. The Hindu reformer, Raja Ram Mohan Roy's protest to Lord Amherst (1823-28) against the establishment of a Hindu Sanskrit College at Calcutta, symbolised a new departure by which the ideas and sciences of the West were to liberate the minds of his countrymen and bring new light and urge for the foundation of a modern place of education.⁺² "There is no gainsaying the fact that with the introduction of new education the era of Renaissance was ushered in India. Indians not only learnt the arts and sciences of the West, but became conscious of themselves and their own culture. As a result of contact with the West, there was political awakening, social upheaval and religious reform."⁺³

Macaulay cannot escape the blame of completely ignoring and even denouncing the Indian vernaculars. If he had paid deep and sincere attention to the problem of mass education, he would have not failed to realise that Indian vernaculars, properly developed and given

Macaulay's plan
—a hindrance
to mass edu-
cation.

⁺¹ H. R. James, OP. cit., pp. 18-20. V. R. Taneja writes, "Macaulay acted as the spirit of the time and exigencies of finances warranted..... India had deteriorated intellectually, morally and socially. Some remedy had to be found to raise India from this state. And Macaulay voted for English education as the remedy. In this he was supported by persons like Raja Ram Mohan Roy." *Ibid.*, p. 246.

⁺² *Ibid.*, OP. cit., p. 15.

⁺³ V. R. Taneja, OP. cit., p. 247.

Government backing, would have served a far more effective, convenient vehicle for the transmission of learning to the lower strata of society than the Baboo class people fed on English literature and alien culture. Mr. Elphinstone and Sir Thomas Munro had proposed to raise the structure of education in Bombay and Madras on the basis of national education; but they did not achieve full success owing to the hostile attitude of the Company's officials in collusion with the Court of Directors. In the newly created North-Western Province, Mr. Thompson, the first Lieutenant Governor, formulated a plan of mass education through the mother-tongue. He achieved marvellous success and inspired the Government of the Punjab with his example. It is a pity that Macaulay and Bentinck did not care to peruse the reports of Mr. Adam and others, otherwise they could have discovered some way to promote the study of English side by side with patronising the indigenous system of education through vernaculars.

Resolution of
1835—a set-back
to Muslim
education.

Bentinck's Resolution of 1835 gave another setback to the promotion of education among Muslims. It seems that the policy of impoverishing this important community economically and intellectually, along with open efforts to divest them of political superiority, begun by the Company in the early stages of its career, was persistently pursued. At every landmark of educational advancement of the Indians the Directors and the servants of the Company manoeuvred to put up tracks which ultimately proved blind alleys for the Muslims in their desperate attempts to keep pace with the Hindus in educational progress.⁺¹

⁺¹ That the Muslims, though in minority, were an important community and deserved better treatment was recognised by Macaulay himself, who observed, "The Muhammedans are a minority. But their importance is much more

(Continued on Page 123).

The Calcutta Madrasah, which owes its inauguration not to Government initiative but to the petition of the Muslims of Calcutta and the personal interest of Warren-Hastings, was left to languish under the discouraging attitude of the persons in power. Mr. A. R. Mullick writes, "the General Committee of Public Instruction gives a true picture of the condition of the Muslims *vis-a-vis* the Hindus", in 20s and 30s when it says, "The great difference between the two classes can excite no surprise. The Hindu residents of Calcutta have, for a long time past, enjoyed the benefit of Hindu College, which is by far the most efficient seminary of English learning on this side of India, but with regard to the Mohammedans, while on the one hand, they have been stimulated by artificial inducement to cultivate Arabic literature, on the other, only a very second-rate school has been provided by the Government to enable them to study Western literature."⁺¹ Other British writers, not in any way partial to Muslims or their cultural or material advancement, have borne evidence to the deliberate attempts and designs of the Government to keep the Muslims far behind the Hindus in the race for educational uplift. W. W. Hunter, analysing the causes of the Muslims' backwardness in education, has admitted that "the language of our Government schools in Lower Bengal is Hindi and the masters are Hindus. The higher sorts of Musalmans spurned the instruction through the medium of the language of idolatry."⁺² He further elaborates this point by revealing that "the

(Continued from Page 122).

than proportioned to their number for they are a united, zealous, an ambitious, a warlike people. Justice Mahmud, "A History of Education in India" (1781-93), 1895, Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta.

⁺¹ "British Policy and the Muslims in Bengal", p. 192.

⁺² W. W. Hunter, "The Indian Musalmans", Lahore edition, p. 153.

funds which we levy impartially from all classes for State education are in Bengal expended on a system exclusively adopted to the Hindus".⁺¹

Factors contributing to Muslims' backwardness in education.

The adoption of English as medium of instruction was a serious hurdle, which greatly slackened their pace of progress followed by yet another obstacle, substitution of Persian by English as the Court language upon which Bentinck had set his heart. The institutions spread over villages, which imparted indigenous education through Persian and Arabic, were deprived of all stimulus. The wide-spread poverty caused by the loss of political power, strangulation of internal trade and cottage industries, combined with resumption of rent-free estates endowed for traditional learning, smothered all initiative or enterprise among Muslims for new education. Diversion of the income of educational endowments of the Muslims to anti-Muslim projects led to their rapid extinction. The process of excluding the Muslim community from Government services, however low, received further acceleration from the change of the medium of instruction and language of the Court.

The Charter Act of 1813, which is, by exaggeration, extolled as the Magna Carta of education in India, had completely ignored the Muslims and their cultural legacy, so that all the benefits of the provisions of the Education Clause were reserved for Hindus and their institutions. The Muslims had no share out of the Government funds granted for education. The Resolution of March 7, 1835, took away whatever inducement or attraction the Muslims had for the new system of education under Government patronage. It will be seen that the Charter Act of 1853 and the "Wood Despatch" of 1854 — the last word on Indian educational system under the rule of the East India Company

⁺¹ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

— also failed to give due recognition to or provide sufficient safeguard for, claims of the Muslims for equal, if not preferential, share in facilities for educational advancement given to other Indian communities. Mr. A. R. Mullick, after an objective study of the problems and progress of Muslim education under the rule of the Company at the end of 1835, has drawn conclusions which cannot be challenged. He says, "That the Muslims who cared for education were not in any way prejudiced against receiving English or Western education, but they had very little opportunities for acquiring this education. The system and course of studies offered to them were defective and their only institution was very badly managed and insufficiently run.... Another factor was the known poverty of the Muslims, which made it impossible for them to educate themselves without adequate help from the Government. Without ascribing any motive, whatsoever, it can also be said that the policy of the Government in respect of education was often faltering, and, in most cases, though well-intentioned, it served to benefit the Hindus rather than the Muslims."⁺¹ The invidious distinction observed between Hindus and Muslims in matter of education and the preferential treatment accorded to the former by refusing to give the Muslims a fair share of Government patronage was not confined to educational sphere. The same policy was pursued unabashedly in closing the door of Government services to the Muslims. William Hunter has referred to several such official efforts to warn heads of State departments not to select Muslims for Government posts except those of *chaprasis* and peons.

The Muslims, on their part, in deep frustration and despair, gave up all efforts and struggle for bettering their national prospects in the field of education and

Muslims frustrated.

⁺¹ W. W. Hunter, "The Indian Musalmans", Lahore edition, p. 193.

were led to concentrate their energy and whatever material resources were still left to them upon a final life-and-death struggle to secure liberation from the iron grip of foreign imperialism. But they were not destined to succeed in this till another century of political slavery.⁺¹

Syed Mahmud, the talented author of the classical book on "Education in India", and the only man who has dealt with the problem of Muslim backwardness in English education before 1857, has ascribed it to lack of interest; political, social and economic condition of the community. In support of his views he cites the hostile attitude of the Muslims to the proposal of the Government to stop scholarships and stipendiaries given to the students of the Calcutta Madrasah, and the amount thus saved, to be utilised on popularising the teaching of English. But it is unfair to read in this proposal on protesting against the representation of the Muslims, an inherent move to condemn the teaching of English to the children of the community. The Muslims of Bengal had quite correctly interpreted it as Government subterfuge, to discontinue oriental and Islamic learning and ultimately to close the Madrasah, or convert it into an institution of propagating Christianity. Hence they reacted so sharply against the Government proposals. Over 8,000 Muslims submitted a petition pointing out that the Muslims of Bengal were poor..... that save for some four or five rich youths in the Madrasah all the others had come to study from outside Calcutta in expectation of Government help; that those desirous of education, were of noble and respectable birth, "but wretchedly poor". The Government was, therefore,

⁺¹ Cf. "Talim ka Mas'ala", (Problem of Education), by Syed Altaf Ali Brelvi, All Pakistan Educational Conference.

requested to revive the stipendiary system,⁺¹ the abolition of which under the Resolution of 7th March, 1835, had fallen as a heavy blow on the poor Muslim community. The Hindus also submitted a petition in which they violently attacked the educational policy of the Government, calling the Resolution of March 7, 1835, "most injurious, oppressive, subversive of our professions and religion and conducive to the unpopularity of Government". The question of stipends was also raised in this petition.⁺²

Macaulay's high-sounding Minute and Bentinck's hasty endorsement of this important official document was an important step in the evolution of the Government educational policy, objective and method; yet it failed to draw the last curtain on the language controversy. Bentinck was succeeded by Lord Auckland. Some of the Orientalists, like Adam and Wilkinson, refused to acknowledge defeat and continued to press for the claim of indigenous languages to be the media of instruction. They were firmly opposed to the idea of adopting English as general medium of instruction throughout the country on the plea that education could not have reached masses through a foreign language. They managed to keep the question alive in the beginning of Auckland's regime.

The Court of Directors, who had been allergic to hasty changes of policy concerning the administration

⁺¹ A.R. Mullik, p. 208. It is interesting to find in Auckland's Despatch a reference to the feelings of the Muslims *vis-a-vis* the change of medium of instruction. He writes, "With the Muhammedans whatever there was of jealousy and alarm has entirely subsided." Such ignorance or wilful suppression of the real feelings of the Indians was the real factor, which caused the mighty conflagration of 1857.

⁺² *Ibid.*, pp. 210-11.

of India, spent sometime before giving final approval to Bentinck's Resolution of 1835. They were, in fact, contemplating to issue another Despatch censuring the measure and ordering its reversal. They felt inclined to restore the old system suggesting, at the same time, that every encouragement should be given to the study of English language. Such a compromising arrangement, they thought, will allay all apprehension of exciting religious feelings of the natives.

Educational
Policy of Lord
Auckland.

Lord Auckland succeeded Lord William Bentinck as Governor-General. He was a staunch Anglicist and desired to pacify the party by acceding to their demand of sanctioning a big grant for promoting the study of English language and literature, philosophy and sciences through English medium. Auckland was also a great exponent of the Filtration Theory of Education and goaded by his zeal for spreading English to a limited circle of high-ups in Hindu social hierarchy he rejected Adam's proposals for spreading education among the masses on the ground that opportune time for such a measure had not arrived. He did not like that the Court of Directors should reverse the decision taken by Bentinck on Macaulay's famous Minute over the medium of instruction. He persistently urged them not to take such a step.

Lord Auckland's
Minute—1839.

Lord Auckland wrote his Minute on education on 24th November, 1839, after having fully examined the Orientalists-Anglicists controversy. He prudently reached the conclusion that the Orientalists will be calmed if they were granted more funds to spend on education. He restored the old grants sanctioned to the Sanskrit and Arabic institutions and passed orders to the effect that the funds be first appropriated for the studies of Sanskrit and Arabic and the residue for English instruction. He retained stipends and scholarships as before

and sanctioned the publication of necessary Oriental books.

This scheme involved an expenditure of Rs. 31,000 per year, the sanction of which put an end to the long controversy. To combat poverty—a great handicap to students—he proposed that pecuniary awards for meritorious students should be continued and students of both English and Oriental institutions should have equal encouragement. These orders fully satisfied the Orientalists. The Anglicists, on the other hand, were satisfied by the assignment of a sum of more than a lac of rupees for the spread of English education. He also laid down that 'the principal aim of the educational policy should be to communicate, through the English language, a complete education in European literature, philosophy and science to the greatest number of students who may be found ready to accept it.

As regards the question of medium of instruction, Auckland was of the opinion that English should be the medium of education even in lower schools, but he pressed the necessity of developing the vernacular. The adoption of vernaculars as media of instruction in provinces, as was done in Bombay, would have led to their development, if sufficient patronage had been given to them. This also would have resulted in making higher education reach the people. But this question was postponed. Auckland observed that two experiments were in progress—English in Bengal and Vernacular in Bombay—and was of opinion that they should be fully tried. It is, however, deplorable that he could not understand the utility of indigenous languages for Indian masses. It seems that spread of education amongst masses and promotion of indigenous languages and sciences were not liked by the British statesmen and politicians and the most vital interests of the Indians were

Language
Controversy
settled.

thus sacrificed on the altar of political and imperial objectives. Hence Auckland, adhering to this policy, opposed the adoption of vernaculars as media of instruction, and thus dealt a severe blow to mass education among the Indians.

On the whole, Auckland's proposals were an advance upon the policy pursued since 1835. A welcome feature of this Minute is that the educational needs of the Muslims received some recognition in an important official document since Minto's Despatch of 1811. But the suggestions of Auckland failed to cover the needs of the Muslim community. The substitution of stipends by scholarships was not an adequate measure for the poverty-stricken Muslim students of the Calcutta Madrasah, the only institution meant specially for the whole of the Bengal Muslims. The emphasis laid in Auckland's proposals for making students of the Madrasah improve the Sanskritised Bengali vernacular "in concert" with the Manager of the Hindu College was a clear denial of the claims and interests of the Muslims of Bengal to most of whom Bengali was not the vernacular. This positive handicap proved very detrimental to the educational progress of the Muslims.⁺¹

During the Governor-Generalship of Lord Auckland the General Committee of Public Instruction was relieved of its increased duties and financial responsibilities and the Committee was replaced by a Council of Education in 1842, "for reference and advice upon important educational questions with power of supervision only on Presidency institutions. All other functions of the Committee—"that numerous and irresponsible, if distinguished body"—particularly supervision of financial details and official correspondence were taken over by the Government.⁺²

⁺¹ Cf. A. R. Mullick, pp. 218-19.

⁺² *Ibid.*, p. 222.

Auckland was contemplating an elaborate scheme of combined English and Vernacular education by opening Zillah schools; but his sudden retirement from office put an end to it. Auckland will, however, be remembered for his constructive measures by which he reversed some of the hasty measures of Macaulay and Bentinck and bringing the language controversy to an end.

The natural result of the policy of Government was that English now dominated the educational field, particularly in Bengal. There were only 14 schools in 1835 under the control of the Committee but six more schools were added by the close of the year; and many schools were opened in 1836, so that by 1837 the number of schools under the control of the Committee rose to fortyeight with an average strength of 196 students. Lord Auckland divided the entire region into nine divisions and schools were established almost at all district headquarters. There were in 1840 some forty such schools. Amongst all these institutions, the Hugly College—an institution founded out of the magnificent benefaction of Haji Mohammad Mohsin—was very famous and important. In this manner, education was making gradual progress until a stage was reached when indigenous Arabic and Sanskrit institutions could not attract students in spite of the fine bait of scholarship whereas children found it difficult to obtain admission in the English schools despite the imposition of fees.

In 1841, the General Committee of Public Instruction which had been functioning in educational sphere since nearly twenty years, had been dissolved and, in 1842, its place was taken by another body known as Council of Education. Similar Councils were formed in Madras and Bombay Presidencies.

Development
of Education,
1835-53.

Education for
Government
service.

In 1844, Lord Harding made an important announcement which helped accelerate progress of education considerably. He observed, "In every possible case, a preference shall be given in the selection of candidates for public employment to those who have been educated in the institutions thus established." He gave similar directions in respect of the selection of the candidates to fill up lower offices under the Government. The natural result of such directions was that the aim of education in India became the obtaining of jobs under the Government⁺¹ although the number of such Governmental posts was too meagre to absorb all educated Indians. Consequently, several educated persons were forced to accept the office of clerks, and indigenous industries and agriculture were adversely affected for want of capable educated persons. This evil continued to grow with the progress of literacy under British Government.

Meanwhile the missionaries continued their educational venture. By 1853, the number of English institutions, founded by them in Bengal Presidency, rose to twentytwo. Owing to educational pressure some private schools also sprang up since Government English schools were not enough for the purpose. But these private institutions were not sanctioned any grant-in-aid by the Government.

⁺¹ "The Government had decided to make English the official language and to get English-knowing Indians to help in running the administration for reason of economy." (K. C. Vyas, OP. cit.). S. Nurullah discussing 'the political-cum-administrative aspects' of the problem of education observes that the motive was to reduce the cost of administration by training the Indians under the new system of education for subordinate services. But he disagrees strongly with the view that the British had no other object except training the Indians for Government service.

Increase in
Missionary
Schools.

Lord Dalhousie took keen interest in education. He introduced in the year classes in Engineering at Hindu College, Calcutta. He tried to improve women education too. In 1849, Mr. Drinkwater Bethune established a school for girls at Calcutta.

In the Presidency of Bombay, the Bombay Native Education Society during the terms of its life of eighteen years had established four English schools and 115 District Primary Schools in which education was imparted in reading, writing, Algebra, Geometry and Trigonometry through the medium of mother-tongue. The aim of these schools was to spread Western knowledge through the mother-tongue.

Bombay.

Besides the schools managed and conducted by the Bombay Native Education Society, the Government of Bombay was running two colleges (Poona Sanskrit College and Elphinstone Institute) and 63 Primary Schools in Purandar Taluka of District Poona. These Purandar schools had been established in 1837 by Capt. Shordrede, the Assistant Collector of the Taluka, and provided elementary education in the three R's. On the whole, these schools were just like the indigenous schools, with this difference that their teachers received their salaries from the Government, the scale of which varied from Rs. 3½ to Rs. 13 per month. These schools, and the principles on which they were conducted, show that the Government of Bombay did not confine its patronage to English schools alone, but extended its encouragement to the study of Sanskrit and vernacular languages also. One Captain Candy explains the principles underlying this policy in his report of the Board of Education. He says, "It seems to me that too much encouragement cannot be given to the study of English, not too much value put upon it; in its proper place and connection in a plan for the intellectual and moral

improvement of India Knowledge must be drawn from the stores of English language, the vernaculars must be employed as the media of communicating it..... I look on every native, who possesses a good knowledge of his own mother-tongue of Sanskrit and of English to possess the power of rendering incalculable benefit to his countrymen."⁺¹

The Board of Education.

The Government of Bombay, in the year 1840, abolished the Bombay Native Education Society and constituted in its place Board of Education, which was charged with the management and supervision of all schools and colleges in the Bombay Presidency. This Board continued to function till 1855, when educational institutions were placed under a Director of Public Instruction in every province in India. The Board consisted of a president and six other members, out of whom three were the representatives of the Bombay Native Education Society and the rest three, official nominees representing the Government. The Board preserved the policy of the Bombay Native Education Society and undertook the management of all its institutions. In the year 1842, it divided the whole of the Presidency into three regions—each under the supervision of a European Inspector and an Indian Assistant Inspector. It framed some new rules and regulations, that came into force on June 1, 1843. A census of schools was taken in 1842 and the Board tried to experiment Adam's plan also, but it was found impracticable in the face of growing desire for English education. Hence the Board of Education showed indifference to indigenous schools, which were ultimately closed down. But it is clearly revealed from official statistics of the time that the number of primary schools and pupils attending them far exceeded those in the Bengal Presidency.

⁺¹ Report of the Board of Education, p. 35, quoted by S. Nurullah, OP. cit, p. 100.

While the Orientalists and Occidentalists were contending with each other over the issue of medium of instruction in other presidencies, Bombay adopted a bold policy to settle this issue by using local dialects and vernaculars as the media. Sanskrit was taught as a classical language and English as a modern one. Western knowledge was not precluded from the curriculum of schools. It ignored the downward Filtration Theory of education and disseminated education among the masses freely.

Medium of Instruction Issue tackled in Bombay.

But, unfortunately, Sir Erskine Perry was appointed President of the Board of Education and he introduced an evil principle in the educational policy of the Presidency. He was a staunch advocate of the education of the people belonging to the upper stratum of society and derived inspiration from the policy of Macaulay and Auckland. He considered the translation of English books into indigenous language to be useless as well as expensive. According to him, English education was much in demand among the masses and as such the policy of the Government was to spread English education amongst them; hence English should be adopted as medium of instruction in the Presidency of Bombay. This issue divided the Board of Education into two groups. Perry and two other European members formed one group and Colonel Jervis, the Principal, Engineering College, Bombay and three other Indian members formed themselves into another group, supporting the cause of mother-tongue as medium of instruction. Colonel Jervis observed :—

"General instruction cannot be afforded, except through the medium of languages with which the mind is familiar..... I conceive it a paramount duty, on our part, to foster the vernacular dialects... if the people are to have a literature, it must be their own. The stuff

may be, in a great degree, European, but it must be freely interwoven with home-spun materials, and the fashion must be Asiatic."

This controversy in the last stage was referred to the Provincial Government for orders. In a letter written on April 5, 1848, the Government passed orders to the effect that mother-tongue should be used as medium of instruction for elementary and secondary education, while English was to be adopted for higher education, but according to the verdict of the Central Government, English became gradually the dominant language in the Presidency also.

During Sir Erskine Perry's term of office, new English schools were established at all big centres and grant-in-aid was sanctioned to a Girl's School at Ahmedabad in 1851, the Poona Sanskrit College and the Poona English School were amalgamated into the Poona College which, later on, came to be known as Deccan College. It included a Normal Department for the purpose of the training of teachers. Besides, Government orders were passed to sanction grants-in-aid to zillah (district) schools in 1852 and efforts were made to open schools for higher learning in countryside with the State help. But, with the departure of Perry from the country, indigenous education began to revive and progress. In 1854, the Government consented to pay half the teachers' salary for every village school, the remaining half of the expenditure was to be incurred by the villagers themselves. In this way, we find that the progress of education in Bombay Presidency was satisfactory during this period.

After the death of Munro the progress of education in the Madras Presidency received severe set-back between years 1833 and 1853. The Government officials

followed an inconsistent educational policy. The grant-in-aid sanctioned to the private institutions was withdrawn and no encouragement was given to indigenous schools. The District and Tehsil schools, established by Munro, were closed down in the year 1836 and their place was taken by English colleges at Madras and English schools at some other important centres. In 1841, a High School was established at Madras. The Minute, written by Macaulay on the education of Bengal Presidency, had direct effect on Madras as well. Consequently the vernacular schools were doomed in the Presidency. The Madras Government received directions from the Government of India to the effect that entire educational grant should be devoted to higher English education exclusively. Thus higher Western education began to flourish through the medium of English language.

A proposal for the establishment of a university at Madras was also made but it was considered to be premature. Only the Matriculation Department was opened in 1841 and Collegiate Department in 1852. The University Board was supplanted by Council of Education which eventually was substituted by a Board of Education in the year 1847. A sum of one lac of rupees was placed at the disposal of the Board of Education. A fraction of the grant was utilized for establishing two English schools—one at Cuddalore in 1853 and the other at Rajahmundry two years later. A sum of rupees 20,000 was set apart for the maintenance of primary schools.

Among the private enterprises, the names of Christian missionaries and Sri Pachiayappa's efforts deserve mention. The missionaries gave sufficient encouragement to elementary education during this period. Referring to the efforts of the missionaries,

it has been stated in the Despatch of 1854 that whereas the efforts of the Government to promote the cause of education in Madras have not been satisfactory, the missionaries have spread Tamil education widely among the people.⁺¹

North-Western
Provinces of
Agra and Oudh.

In 1840, the Government of India had transferred the control and management of all the institutions of North-West Provinces of Agra and Oudh from the hands of Bengal Government to the Provincial Government of North-West Province. By that time, some institutions for English education had been established at certain places, *i.e.*, Agra, Delhi and Benaras. From the very beginning, the Provincial Government adopted quite a different theory which rejected the downward Filtration Theory of Education and decided to impart education through the medium of the mother-tongue.

In the year 1843, Mr. James Thompson, who is regarded as the pioneer of elementary education in India, was appointed the Lieutenant Governor of the Province. In 1854, he issued a circular to all the Collectors asking them to furnish detailed information of the educational condition in their respective districts and made a plan to promote elementary education of the masses basing it on Adam's Plan of education. It was found out through the inquiry that including English and Missionary schools, there were 7,966 schools of all descriptions and that only 70,826 boys out of well-nigh two million male children of school-going age were attending the schools and there was 3.7 per cent literacy in the province.

⁺¹ The Indian Education Commission, 1882, states that in 1854 about 30,000 boys were being educated in schools conducted by Missionaries Societies, and about 3,000 were obtaining at least the element of a liberal education in English. Report p. 11 (Nand N., p. 104).

In November, 1846, therefore, Mr. Thompson submitted a thoroughly comprehensive plan to the Central Government to organise vernacular education of the province. According to his plan, in every village, consisting of 200 villagers, a school was to be established, the teachers' remunerations were to be disbursed out of the grant of 'Jagirs'. The Court of Directors rejected this plan. Hence in April 1848, Mr. Thompson submitted another scheme which was approved by the Directors the next year. According to this scheme, the indigenous schools were to be improved and in each tehsil (subdivision) a Middle School was to be opened. The school was to be conducted by the Headmaster, who was to get a monthly remuneration of Rs 10 to Rs. 20.

The curriculum of these schools included education in writing, reading, accountancy, history, geography and geometry. In 1850, the Government sanctioned Rs. 50,000 annually for these schools. In 1853, the number of students in these institutions was 5,000. These schools were identical with vernacular middle schools. The scheme was operated on experimental basis in eight districts only in the first instance, *i.e.*, Meerut, Shahjahanpur, Agra, Mathura, Mainpuri, Aligarh, Farrukhabad and Etawah. Mr. H. S. Reid, the District Collector of Mainpuri, was the Visitor-General of these districts. He made a survey which covered 8 districts with 50 towns and 14,572 villages. According to the survey, there were 3,127 schools of all types with attendance of 27,853 students. Out of these, there were twenty schools which imparted education in English as well.

Provision was made for the inspection of these schools. For this was appointed a Visitor-General on a salary of Rs. 1,000 per month for eight districts. For every district there was a District Visitor and under him

a Pargana (a unit of a subdivision) Visitor in each pargana. The Pargana Visitors got a salary of Rs. 20 to Rs. 40 per month. Their duty was to inspect indigenous schools and to give advice, assistance and encouragement to the people.

Halka-Bandi
Schools.

In addition to the establishment of Tehsil Schools another plan was thought out of the improvement of indigenous education. It is known as "Halka-Bandi Schools". In the year 1851, Mr. Alexander, the Collector of Mathura, made a plan. He took a particular pargana and, calculating its revenue and population, prepared statistics of children of school-going age and the expenditure to be met on their education. Since, owing to the paucity of funds, it was quite impossible to establish institutions in every village, a halka or circuit was formed by combining a number of villages and a school for that circuit was established in the central village so that no village could lie beyond the distance of two or two and a half miles at the most. These institutions were meant for primary education. For the maintenance of these schools every zamindar was to contribute 1% of his land revenue. Soon this scheme was operated in other seven neighbouring districts and by 1854 the number of schools rose to 758 attended by 17,000 children. After sometime, the scheme was experimented in Bengal too.

In the field of higher education as well, this province made appreciable progress. By 1854, the number of students of Government Colleges, centered at Agra, Delhi and Benaras, was 796. In the year 1852, the St. Johns College of Agra was founded and the same year a Normal School was established at Agra. In 1853, the Jai Narain Ghosal School was promoted into Benaras College. In this way, by the end of 1854, the number of schools in N. W. Province of Agra rose to 4,000 in which 53,000 students received education.

The Despatch of 1854 recommended the operation of this scheme in other districts also and an award of scholarships to deserving candidates.⁺¹

The Province of the Punjab was founded in 1849, there existed a number of indigenous schools of Hindi, Urdu and Gurmukhi. Urdu was popular in this province and majority of Hindu and Sikh children learnt this language. In 1849, the Government founded an English school at Amritsar in which Hindi, Urdu, English, Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit were taught. Lahore was centre in educational activities. Female education was also progressing and the number of girl students was increasing. Later on, a scheme on the lines of that prevalent in N. W. Province of Agra was adopted, resulting in the establishment of 4 Normal Schools, 60 Tehsil Schools and a Central College at Lahore. The appointment of a Visitor-General and 12 District and 50 Pargana Visitors was sanctioned in 1854.

The Punjab.

It is evident from the above that by the end of this period, the controversy over the issue of medium of instruction having raged well-nigh for half a century, had come to a close and Indian educational system had been organised on the pattern of English system, and main principles were definitely established during this period, which were to guide the direction and further progress of Indian education. The Government was moved to undertake the responsibility of mass education. Provision for the proper inspection of education had been effected and the Government had to announce her educational policy unequivocally and openly. Besides the predominance of the Filtration Theory of Education, negligence shown towards indigenous education and vernacular languages, spread of Western education, especially English, the State policy of religious

Conclusion.

neutrality in the field of education and lastly encouragement given to private venture in educational sphere, were some of the paramount features of the period."¹

The decisions taken in the sphere of education during this period and the tendencies and aspirations aroused among the various constituents of the Indian Society had a direct and potent influence upon the social and economic developments and political happenings of the country in the second half of the nineteenth century. The educational policy of the Government, naturally, played an important role in moulding the current of history. The fate of Indian education during the early period of the Company's rule had hung in balance. The Company had refused to accept the responsibility of imparting education to the Indians; and instead of encouraging the Indians to uphold their own system and helping them to preserve their ancient and mediaeval institutions, they allowed full liberty to the foreign Christian missions to educate Indians in order to convert them to Christianity.

⁺¹ Dr. P. L. Rawat, p. 244.

CHAPTER VII

The Filtration Theory of Education

In the beginning of nineteenth century, the British rulers were of the opinion that only higher strata of society should be educated and general masses be left in ignorance. They formulated their educational policy accordingly. In 1827, the Court of Directors issued instructions to this effect.

"We do not at present aim at giving education directly to the lower classes of the people of this country. We aim at raising up an educated class which will hereafter, as we hope, be the means of diffusing among their countrymen some portion of the knowledge we have imparted to them..... If we can raise up a class of educated Bengalis, they will naturally, and without any violent change, displace by degrees the present incompetent teachers."¹

The real purpose of Filtration Theory of Education can be summed up in these words, "Education was to permeate the masses from above. Drop by drop from the Himalayas of Indian life useful information was to trickle downwards, forming in time a broad and stately stream to irrigate the thirsty plains."²

In 1839, the Public Instruction Committee of Bengal also held that the efforts of the Government should primarily be concentrated on the education of the

⁺¹ Macaulay's Minute, quoted by Dr. Zellener "Education in India", p. 60, New York (1951).

⁺² Mayhew Arthur, "The Education in India", p. 92, Faber and Gwyer, 1926.

upper and middle strata of society; these scholars would naturally bring about an experiment in rural educational schools and the benefits of education would be extended to those financially handicapped.⁺¹

The Christian missionaries too had hoped that if the Hindus belonging to higher castes could be educated in the Christian doctrines, they would propagate the principles of Jesus Christ among the masses. This partly explains their emphasis on the establishment of English schools. But Indian children took admission in these institutions for the sake of getting education and not to learn religion. They did not accept religious conversion. Only children of some backward classes, some orphans and some Christian children were to be seen in these classes. The theory was the offspring of a combination of several circumstances, political, administrative and, above all, financial.

The Company by a stroke of good fortune had got possession of a large tract of the country, and as a political power was called upon to provide for the moral welfare of the masses. But financially it was not possible to open State schools in every village for children of every class of society. The annual grant of £ 10,000 was not sufficient for this. The Company showed no eagerness to carry out the orders of the Directors and for a decade did nothing to utilise the sum sanctioned by the Parliament on education. When, however, it was forced to implement the Educational Clause of the Act of 1813, it formed in 1823 a Committee to whom the task was entrusted.

⁺¹ Mr. T. N. Sequiera writes, "The theory of 'filtration' believes that it is better to educate a few hundreds thoroughly than millions superficially, for the education given to these hundreds will necessarily filter down to the millions and thus (to change the metaphor) reave the whole lump without much cost. *Ibid*, OP, cit., pp. 28-29.

But the Committee, known as the General Committee of Public Instruction, was confronted with a serious issue — whether education should be made available to the masses of India or only a particular class of people alone should be allowed to drink at the fountain of knowledge. At first, it was decided that only those persons should be given facility of education who had suffered loss materially and politically by the change of rulership. But this view was abandoned on several considerations. The English nation had no experience of state management of education at that time, because education in England was the responsibility of the Church, not of the state. The Government in India, therefore, was at its wits' end in acquitting itself of the heavy responsibility that it had been made to assume and failed for a long time to evolve a stable, progressive system of education for the Indians. It believed that educating masses was neither possible nor advisable from financial and political considerations.

But demand for the spread of education in rural area was gaining momentum. Renowned British officers and administrators like Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone (Bombay), Mr. Munro (Madras) and Mr. John Thompson (North-West Provinces), besides Mr. Adam of the Educational Reports fame (1834—38), had become staunch champion of mass education and made fruitful experiments in this connection in their own provinces. The Directors on their parts, as usual, issued contradictory orders on various proposals submitted from provinces and from the Governor-General in Council, thereby.

They expressed their opinion in these words:—

"The improvements in education, however, which most effectually contribute to elevate the moral and intellectual condition of a people are those which

concern the education of the higher classes of the persons possessing leisure and natural influence over the minds of their countrymen. By raising the standard of instruction among these classes, you would eventually produce a much greater and more beneficial change in the ideas and feelings of the community than you can hope to produce by acting directly on the more numerous classes."

Mr. Warden, a member of the Governor's Council in Bombay, who had bitterly opposed Mr. Elphinstone's famous despatch on mass education, expressed similar views on Indian education, while Mr. Macaulay wrote thus "..... it is impossible for us, with our limited means, to attempt to educate the body of the people. We must at present do our best to form a class which may be interpreter between us and the millions whom we govern—A class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the Western nomenclature and to render them by degrees the vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population."

The missionaries' reaction to the Downward Filtration Theory was forcefully expressed and ardently implemented by Alexander Duff who worked zealously to effect conversion of Hindus of higher castes, by educating them and familiarising them with Christian doctrines in the hope that through their agency the Christianity would find easy access amongst the Indian masses.

The real factor, which forced the Company's administration to adopt the Downward Filtration policy of education, was inadequacy of fund at their disposal

for the stupendous task of educating millions of people in numerous languages and dialects. "They had few suitable men and poorest of means, and the adoption of such an ideal (Downward Filtration Theory) was, therefore, the only solution of these difficulties."

The adoption of the new schemes, which held the ground fairly well during the first half a century and even more, proved a stimulant to the growth of English education and increase in the number of English schools. "English schools and colleges grew up everywhere". Private Vernacular schools also multiplied, but they suffered heavily in the race with English schools. Few pupils could be induced to join the Vernacular schools. A large number of such schools had to be closed soon after their start for want of necessary number of pupils though these institutions were well-staffed. The Proclamation of the Governor-General, Lord Harding, in 1884, held out assurance of Government service to every Indian educated in Government English schools or private English schools, a list of which was to be prepared and kept ready in every Council of Education for Government inspection to select fit candidates for public offices. In the words of Mr. T. N. Sequiera, "This Proclamation marks the beginning of a large history of Government employment of Indians in India—thus started that tradition of considering such employment as the end and goal of education, which has inflated higher education beyond all bounds and produced so much unemployment among the educated today."¹ Continuing his observations the same writer remarks, "He (Lord Harding) wanted to put the official seal on the English education so recently started and so popular, and to encourage private (mostly Missionary) schools. He also thus secured best subordinate servants for the Company's administration, which daily grew

¹ "The Education of India", pp. 36-37.

in size and importance, at a much cheaper cost than Englishmen could be obtained. 'But', Mr. Sequiera rightly says, "he (Lord Harding) did not anticipate that what he intended to be an encouragement would in the eyes of the people become the exclusive purpose of education..., that in a caste-ridden country with exaggerated notions of the dignity of manual labour, clerical employment would become the monopoly of the highest castes..... that it would lure more and more boys into a literary education to the neglect of agriculture, trade and industry and that this system would produce a volume of educated unemployment..... unequalled by any other country in the world."⁺¹

Dr. P. L. Rawat in his work, "History of Indian Education", in criticising the Filtration Theory of Education, says "that education of higher classes would filter down to the lower strata of society appeared quite nugatory and futile. As a matter of fact, people belonging to upper stratum of society gained modern education being urged by their selfish motives and after being appointed on responsible posts in Government, were still more cut off from general masses".

"The Britishers by applying this theory created a class of people who began to consider themselves to be aliens in their own country..... a sort of the tradition to acquire higher education was formed amongst such persons owing to their contact with the Britishers from the very beginning, and it was specially this class of people who were appointed on high and responsible posts in Government and massed a large amount of wealth."⁺²

The Indians of high caste did receive education in English schools and, for that reason, they were

+1 "The Education of India", pp. 37-38.

+2 "History of Indian Education", p. 233.

recruited to fill up vacancies in high posts of the Government. But they were so preoccupied with their official responsibilities and were so puffed up with their high social and political dignity that they became absolutely indifferent to their duty to help their own countrymen in the acquirement of education. Moreover, the English-knowing persons became a class by themselves and refused to acknowledge kinship with, or feel sympathy for, the masses who did not know English". This unhappy result was due partly to the attempt to substitute Western culture for Eastern and partly to the use of English as a medium of instruction. The Downward Filtration Theory, therefore, did not work out satisfactorily according to the idea of its promoters. "Every person educated in English schools got employment under Government, secondly, every person who was taught in English schools was cut off from his own people in sympathy and ideology."⁺¹

It is, however, true that after half a century from the anglicisation of the Indian education as a result of the Resolution of 7th March, 1935, the Downward Filtration Theory produced results which negated the assumptions of the British administrators, as well as exposed the hollowness of the effusions and miscalculations of Macaulay, who had laid great store by the band of steadfast loyalty of Westernised Indians, thus created, in the British Empire in India. The number of private institutions switched on to an extent that the Government and Missionary schools and colleges were left in minority. The torch of education was carried to the people of the middle class by persons of noble spirit who decided to turn their back on Government services, although this was available for the mere asking, and devoted their lives to spreading education among their brethren. The efforts of these selfless patriotic persons

+1 N. N. Law, p. 85.

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hastened the development of private educational enterprise throughout the country. Western literature, specially on science and practical subjects, was rendered into Vernaculars, which gave a great stimulus to mass education.

It cannot be denied that Macaulay's dream to create a class of people, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, was ultimately fulfilled, but these people, the product of English education, instead of strengthening the ties of political subservience of the Indians to a foreign nation, unfurled the flag of independence.

The policy did not produce the desired results mainly due to the fact that the Directors and other responsible persons did not tackle the problem with wisdom and imagination. The Babu-class among educated Indians did not rise up to the expectations of the framers of the policy and instead of going to villages and towns to teach their countrymen, they resolved to fill up the Government jobs for which great facilities had been created by the Proclamations of Auckland and Harding. Moreover, the English-knowing Indians, impressed by Westernisation of Indian culture, arrogated to themselves the dignity of a separate superior class and distained to be identified with their own kins not privileged to be conversant with English knowledge and manners. The result was that "the Downward Filtration Theory, therefore, did not work out satisfactorily according to the ideas of its promoters".⁺¹

The Muslims were hard hit, as usual, by the Downward Filtration Policy. Indeed, it seems that one of the aims for which the policy of confining new education in a particular class was to deprive the Muslims of

⁺¹ Cf. Nurullah and Naik, *OP. cit.*, p. 85, Second revised edition, 1956.

acquiring useful knowledge. No one knew better than the British bureaucrats and politicians that political and economic measures adopted against them had succeeded in reducing the Muslims of Bengal, particularly, to the social degradation and economic bondage. Their penury and pauperism left no ambition in them to aspire to compete with Bengali baboo in the race of education for Government emoluments. But as if it was not enough to cripple Muslim efforts and ambition, the Court of Directors in their Despatch of 1827 directed the Government to concentrate "at places of greatest importance" and among the superior and middle classes of the natives from whom native agents required for Government service were drawn.⁺¹

These directions gave full liberty to Government officers to patronise "the Hindu College, the parents and students of the relatives of which were already agents of the Company in the field of administration or commerce..... But the harmful effect of the policy lay in depriving all other sections of the Hindus and the whole Muslim community of the patronage of higher English education. The pious hope of the Government that knowledge would filter down to all was never realised. The upper class filter, as has been aptly said, was not a filter, but "a hermitically sealed job."⁺²

To further aggravate the injury to Muslims, it was further ordered that the products of the Hindu College, the doors of which were banged upon Muslims, will get preference in order to afford "efficient stimulus to the cultivation of English language and useful knowledge."⁺³ This patronage to the Hindu College, a private

⁺¹ A. R. Mullick, p. 184.

⁺² A. R. Mullick, p. 185, quoted from H. A. Stark, *Vernacular Education in Bengal*, p. 89.

⁺³ *Ibid*, p. 185.

Causes of failure of the Downward Filtration Policy.

The Filtration Policy and Muslims.

institution, and, later on, the Sanskrit College, stands in sad contrast to the attitude of sad contrast and neglect to the Calcutta Madrasah, a Government institution.

The abolition of the system of indigenous education which took place almost simultaneously was another serious blow which combined with Filtration Theory to deprive the Muslim sharing the benefits of acquiring useful knowledge and thereby bettering their prospects in life.⁺¹ The Filtration Policy continued as an important factor of British educational policy in India till 1870 and it succeeded in creating serious obstructions in the way of spreading education in villages and benefiting masses.

⁺¹ (See A. R. Mullick, OP. cit., Chapter VIII, pp. 113-130-

W. W. Hunter, "History of Freedom Movement", 113-130-

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CHAPTER VIII

Wood's Despatch (1854)

The Charter Act of the Company used to be renewed after every twenty years. It had already been renewed in the year 1799, 1813 and 1833 and every new Act introduced certain modifications or additions in the educational policy of the Company. Hence, when the time of renewing the Charter Act approached in the year 1853, the need of some more definite, stable principles to the educational framework of the Government was urgently felt.⁺¹ Introductory.

Consequently, a Select Committee of the House of Commons was set up in order to institute an enquiry into the problems and direction of education in India. The most important witnesses summoned before the Select Committee were Mr. Trevelyan, Sir Erskine Perry, Marshman, Alexander Duff, H. H. Wilson, Cameron and Sir Frederick Halliday who gave their considered views on Indian education. "These people who had vast experience of the affairs and problems of education in India, succeeded in convincing the authorities that the question of Indian education could not be postponed or evaded, any longer, and that it was calculated to do no political harm to the Government."⁺²

⁺¹ "It was, in short, a time when the best results should be obtained only by holding a thorough and comprehensive review of the past and by prescribing, in the light of this review, a detailed policy for educational reconstruction in the future." A Student's History of Education in India, by S. Nurullah, p. 113 (1956). Also see Dr. P. L. Rawat's History of Indian Education, p. 245.

⁺² Dr. P. L. Rawat, OP. cit., p. 245.

Sir Charles Wood, the President of the Board of Control, was converted to this view and he lost no time in drafting his famous Despatch, which came to be known after his name. It is said that the Despatch was actually drafted by the famous thinker, Mr. John Stuart Mill. The Wood's Despatch to the Court of Directors in 1854 is a unique document; because it introduced a new Charter in the annals of the growth of modern education in India. It has been described the Magna Charta of English education in India. "It sets forth a scheme of education which was wider and more comprehensive than anyone which has been suggested so far."⁺¹ It is said that "it heralded a new era of education in India".

Its main points deserve special notice :—

The aims of educational policy of the Company are fully discussed in this Despatch. It gives priority to the responsibility of Indian education over all other responsibilities of the Company and emphasises the solemn duty of educational expansion.⁺² The Despatch does condemn Sanskrit and Arabic education, but regards some knowledge of them as useful. Like Macaulay, it considers Western knowledge and science to be proper for Indian masses and states that "we must emphatically declare that the education which we desire to see extended in India is that which has, for its object, the diffusion of the improved arts, science, philosophy

⁺¹ "Education in India", by A. L. Mudaliar, p. 23.

⁺² "Among many subjects of importance none can have a stronger claim to our attention than that of education. It is one of our most sacred duties, to be the means, as far as in us lies, of conferring upon the natives of India those vast moral and material blessings which flow from the general diffusion of useful knowledge, and which India may, under Providence, derive from her connexion with England." (Wood's Despatch).

Recommendations of the Despatch—
(i) Educational objective.

The Despatch is a landmark in the history of Indian education. It is a unique document, because it introduced a new Charter in the annals of the growth of modern education in India. It has been described the Magna Charta of English education in India. "It sets forth a scheme of education which was wider and more comprehensive than anyone which has been suggested so far."⁺¹ It is said that "it heralded a new era of education in India".

The Despatch gives a strong tribute to Sanskrit and Arabic education, but regards some knowledge of them as useful. Like Macaulay, it considers Western knowledge and science to be proper for Indian masses and states that "we must emphatically declare that the education which we desire to see extended in India is that which has, for its object, the diffusion of the improved arts, science, philosophy and literature of the West, of European knowledge".⁺²

In any general system of education, English language should be taught where there is demand for it. But such instruction should always be combined with a careful attention to the study of the vernacular language of the land, and with such general instructions as can be conveyed through that language to the mass of the people. While the English language continues to be taught, a sufficient knowledge of English is required for general instruction through it, the vernacular language may be employed to teach the vast masses who are ignorant of, or imperfectly acquainted with, it. (See 1. Mudaliar, OP. cit., p. 115.)

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and literature of Europe; in short, of European knowledge".

The Despatch, while referring to the controversy between the Orientalists and Anglicists in Bengal, did not condemn outright the Oriental party as has been done by Macaulay. On the other hand, it used some old words in evaluating the benefits that accrued from the study of Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian. It did not fail to recognise the importance of these historical and antiquarian languages in the development of various Indian vernaculars.⁺¹ But the conclusion arrived at is the same as Macaulay's. The Despatch pointed out that "the system of science and philosophy which forms the learning of the East abounds with great errors and Eastern literature is, at best, very deficient as regards modern discovery and improvement". It, therefore, recommended that "we must emphatically declare that the education which we desire to see extended in India is that which has, for its object, the diffusion of the improved arts, science, philosophy and literature of Europe; in short, of European knowledge".⁺²

⁺¹ "The Despatch pays a fitting tribute to antiquarian and historical interest of the classical languages of India and to the honourable and influential position of those who maintain the traditional learning." H. R. James, OP. cit., p. 36.

⁺² "In any general system of education, English language should be taught where there is demand for it, but such instructions should always be combined with a careful attention to the study of the vernacular language of the district, and with such general instructions as can be conveyed through that language to be made use of as by and while the English language continues who have acquired a sufficient knowledge of English to receive general instruction through it, the vernacular languages must be employed to teach the far larger classes who are ignorant of, or imperfectly acquainted with, it. (See S. Nurullah, OP. cit., p. 115.

(ii) Adoption of English medium in teaching English language and science.

Recommendations of the Despatch—
(i) Educational objective.

In dealing with the question of the medium of instruction the Despatch took up the support of the plea that there was dearth of "translation and adaptation" of European works in the vernacular languages of India and repudiated the charge that the adoption of English as a medium of education was undertaken as a step towards the suppression of the indigenous education, or the total destruction of the vernaculars.⁺¹

(iii) Importance of vernaculars stressed.

On the other hand, it regrets a tendency which, it fears, has been created "to neglect the study of the vernacular languages".⁺² It lays down that in any general scheme of education, the English language should be taught where there is demand for it, but such instruction should always be combined with a careful attention to the study of vernacular languages of the district, and with such general instruction as can be conveyed through that language. In this way "the importance of vernacular languages will be gradually enriched by translations of European books or by original compositions of men whose minds have been imbued with the spirit of European advancement..... we look, therefore, to the English language and to the vernacular languages of India together as the media for the diffusion of European knowledge and it is our duty to see them cultivated together in all schools in India of a sufficiently high class to maintain a school-master possessing the requisite qualifications".⁺³

After giving a review of some of the important issues, the Despatch lays down certain recommendations which are described here briefly.

⁺¹ *Ibid.*

⁺² "In these respects it makes good the temperamental defects of Macaulay's Minute." H. R. James, *OP. cit.*, p. 36.

⁺³ Wood's Despatch. See S. Nurullah, *OP. cit.*, pp. 114-115 and Dr. P. L. Rawat, *OP. cit.*, pp. 245-46.

(i) Department of Education:

The Despatch recommended the formation of the Department of Education in each province. It also laid down that the highest authority of this department should be the Director of Public Instruction to be appointed in each province and to assist him Inspectors also should be appointed.

(ii) University:

The Despatch then recommended the establishment of universities in the Presidency towns of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. It was observed in the Despatch that "they had come to the conclusion that the time had arrived for the establishment of universities, which might encourage a regular and liberal course of education..... They, therefore, recommended their establishment..... on the model of the London University, which was then merely an examining body.⁺¹ It was also observed that the proposed universities were to have a Chancellor, a Vice-Chancellor and Fellows, all appointed by the Government. The University will conduct examinations in arts and sciences by appointing examiners. The function of the University would be to confer Degree upon the successful candidates of affiliated colleges after the examination. The Despatch led to the establishment of the universities of Calcutta and Bombay and laid the

⁺¹ "The rapid spread of a liberal education among the natives of India since that time, the high attainments shown by the native candidates for Government scholarships and by native students in private institutions, the success of the Medical Colleges, and the requirement of an increasing European and Anglo-Indian population, have led us to the conclusion that the time is now arrived for the establishment of universities in India." (Despatch).

way open for establishing similar centres of higher liberal education in Madras and other places.⁺¹

(iii) *Expansion of Mass Education :*

The Despatch pointed out that so far the Government had devoted her attention exclusively towards providing means of education for the higher classes and no solid or systematic plan had been set on foot, nor any considerable portion of the funds allotted for the State education had been set apart for spreading literacy among the common people of India. To retrieve this shortcoming, the Directors stated in the Despatch, "Our attention should now be directed to a consideration, if possible, still more important, and one which has been hitherto, we are bound to admit, too much neglected, namely; how useful and practical knowledge, suited to every station of life, may be best conveyed to the great mass of the people; who are utterly incapable of obtaining any education, worthy of the name, by their own unaided efforts; and we desire to see the active measures of Government more especially directed, for the future, to this object, for the attainment of which we are ready to sanction a considerable increase of expenditure. The Despatch, therefore, recommended the establishment of increased number of High Schools, Middle Schools and Primary Schools. In order to establish a link between the schools of various grades, it was proposed that scholarships should be awarded to promising candidates.

⁺¹ It will be remembered that the Council of Education substituting the General Committee of Public Instruction had, in 1845, proposed the establishment of a university at Calcutta, but the Directors had turned down the proposal on the ground that it was premature. But within a decade the Directors had felt the need of the establishment of universities to meet the requirements of an increasing European and Anglo-Indian population. S. Nurullah, OP. cit, p. 110.

the indigenous primary schools were regarded as the foundation upon which the fabric of education could be erected.⁺¹

(iv) *Grant-in-Aid :*

The Despatch proposed the sanction of grant-in-aid to the Indian educational institutions in order to promote private educational enterprises. The aid was to be given to all schools which agreed to submit to inspection by Government and rules prescribed for grant-in-aid. In their opinion, grant-in-aid was to be sanctioned only to those institutions which were ready to levy a fee, however small, on the pupils. The grant-in-aid was to be based entirely on the principles of religious neutrality.

Besides, provision was made for the sanction of grants for certain specific objects such as increase in the salaries of teachers, libraries, construction of buildings, foundation of scholarships and opening of the Department of Science, etc. This system of grants embraced all types of institutions — from colleges at the top of the indigenous elementary institutions at the bottom.⁺²

⁺¹ Dr. P. L. Rawat, p. 249. Also see S. Nurullah, OP. cit, p. 110.

⁺² "The consideration of the impossibility of Government alone doing all that must be done in order to provide adequate means for the education of the natives of India, and of the ready assistance which may be derived from efforts which have hitherto received but little encouragement from the State, has led us to the natural conclusion that the most effectual method of providing for the wants of India in this respect will be to continue with the agency of the Government the aid which may be derived from the exertions and the liberality of the educated and wealthy natives of India, and of other benevolent persons. We have, therefore, resolved to adopt in India the system of Grants-in-Aid." Wood's Despatch, quoted by S. Nurullah, p. 119.

The Despatch laid special stress on this system of Grant-in-Aid, which indicates the Government desire to help the missionaries in India, because they were most prominent in the sphere of private educational efforts in the country. The policy of the Government seemed to encourage them to spread elementary education amongst the masses. The Despatch further laid down that as regards the aided schools, the Inspectors should take "no notice whatever ... of the religious doctrines that may be taught in any schools".⁺¹ "These institutions", it was observed, "were founded for the benefit of the whole population of India, and in order to achieve their object it was, and it is, indispensable that the education conveyed in them should be exclusively secular. The Bible is, we understand, placed in the libraries of the colleges and schools and the pupils are able freely to consult it. This is as it should be and, moreover, we have no desire to prevent or discourage any explanations which the pupils may, of their own freewill, ask from the masters upon the subjects of the Christian religion provided that such information be given out of school hours. Such instruction being entirely voluntary on both sides, it is necessary, in order to prevent the slightest suspicion of an intention on our part, to make use of the influence of Government for the purpose of proselytism."⁺²

(v) *Training of Teachers :*

"The Despatch also urged the undelayed establishment of schools for the training of teachers in each Presidency in India on the pattern of similar schools in England. In England there was deficiency of such institutions but "this deficiency has been more palpably felt in India, as the difficulty of finding persons properly

⁺¹ Dr. P. L. Rawat, OP. cit., pp. 249-250.

⁺² *Ibid.*

educated for the work of tuition is greater; and we desire to see the establishment, with as little delay as possible, of training schools and classes for masters in each Presidency in India".⁺¹ Therefore, they emphasised the need of award of scholarships to the teachers during their training period."⁺² Further, they recommended vocational training in law, medicine and engineering.

(vi) *Education of Women :*

Much emphasis was laid upon women education in this Dispatch. It says, "We have already observed that schools for males are included among those to which grant-in-aid may be given; and we cannot refrain from expressing our cordial sympathy with the efforts which are being made in this direction. Our Governor-General-in-Council has declared, in a communication to the Government of Bengal, that the Government ought to give to the native female education in India its frank and cordial support."

(i) The recommendation for the establishment of universities in India for higher education was an important landmark in the development of higher education, for which after Matriculation could no longer be substituted. It was, henceforth, fulfilled by the universities which satisfied a long-standing demand in the sphere of higher education.

(ii) The creation of the Department of Education in each province provided well-organised and systematic administration of education for the first time. The responsibility

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of the supervision of education was shifted to the Government and this duty was to be performed by the Director of Education, Visitors and Assistant Visitors in each province. This increased the significance of education and contributed to its expansion.

Mass education through indigenous instructions encouraged.

(iii) The importance of mass education was recognised through the encouragement given to indigenous institutions; while a great impetus was given to the growth of education for common people within British India. Again the training of teachers and award of scholarships to the students and teachers, both, did a positive good to the seekers of education. The recommendations of the Despatch provided the teachers with inducement to enter educational profession which greatly contributed to the progress of education. A systematic link was established between primary and higher education by awarding scholarships to the deserving poor students.

Benefits of Grant-in-Aid system.

(iv) The proposed system of grant-in-aid also helped in the expansion of education and private educational efforts, which now began to take the field.

Shortcomings—Education loses flexibility and spirit of freedom.

A close analysis of the Despatch will, however, show that the main objective of this policy document was to "set up the aim of education merely to pass examinations and hunt for Government services".⁺¹ Education in a sense came under the direct control of bureaucracy, and became one of the departments of the State, subject to official red-tapism and deprived of

⁺¹ The Despatch filled out the details of the Act of 1835. Its main principles were to extend European knowledge through all classes of people This object must be effected by means of the English language in the higher branches of instruction and by that of the vernacular languages to the great mass of the people—Macaulay's Minute.

restrained and spontaneous development. It lost flexibility, spirit of freedom and unchecked evolution. The outcome was that, with the dawn of national consciousness, the British Government became the object of vehement condemnation, especially in the field of education. The pattern of proposed universities was absolutely foreign to Indian national aspirations. The Government's policy of nomination of members to the State did not tend to develop healthy educational and national traditions.

There is considerable force in the allegation "that the Despatch encouraged foreign mode of education by luring the people with the bait of State Employment. The authors had stated in unequivocal terms that numerous vacancies of different kinds which have constantly to be filled up, may afford a great stimulus to education. The priority given to the persons educated on English pattern in consideration of securing Government posts naturally resulted in a growing tendency on the part of Indian youths and their guardians to seek high posts in Government, after the expiry of the student's academic career. In the words of M. R. Pranjpay, a well-known Indian educationist, "the author did not aim at education for leadership education for the industrial regeneration of India, education for the defence of mother-land; in short, education required by the people of a self-governing nation".⁺¹

Education—a means of acquiring Government jobs.

⁺¹ He has criticised the working of the grant-in-aid system also. He said, "For over sixty years Government institutions increased in number and private enterprise was discouraged rather than encouraged. During the first thirty, i.e., up to 1880, Christian Missions were only private agency in the field and Government did not have the courage to entrust the work of education to missions whose primary aim was to secure converts to Christianity." (Progress of Education, Poona, p. 47. Cf. Dr. P. L. Rawat and V. R. Taneja, OP. cit., pp. 257-58.

Grant-in-Aid system did not fulfil the desired object — its misuse.

The Directors of the Company had entertained high hopes from the establishment of a network of graded schools in all the five provinces and were led "to anticipate by thus drawing support from local resources in addition to contribution from the State a far more rapid progress of education than would follow a mere increase of expenditure by Government". But these hopes were not realised. The Government evinced no real eagerness to sanction adequate allocations in the form of grant-in-aid to schools. It failed to inspire national response mostly due to the suspicion that the officials were more interested in and sympathetic to missionary schools.

In the words of Mr. Richter, a missionary himself, "When the protracted and complicated negotiations anterior to the last renewal of the East India Charter were going on in 1852, Duff was in England and he was accepted, even in Government circles, as a supreme authority on Indian education; he threw the whole weight of his personality into the balance in order that this *Magna Charta* of Indian education might pass into law..."

"For Missions, too, this grant-in-aid system was of great importance And as Missionaries like Dr. Alexander Duff had a distinct influence in the shaping of the famous Despatch, it was perfectly clear that the main tendency of the new grant-in-aid system was to encourage the various missions in the ever congenial work of elementary education to a larger extent than ever before."⁺¹

Yet the Despatch contributed much to the organisation and stabilization of the prevailing Indian educational system. The motives of its authors were

⁺¹ Richter, *A History of Missions in India*, p. 180, quoted by S. Nurullah, *OP. cit.*, p. 119.

sincere and unimpeachable. But it is, indeed, a pity that the Government of India did not act upon the various suggestions and recommendations of the Despatch, while some of the recommendations became obsolete. This explains "the presence of so many defects in the Indian educational system under British rule. Mass education was treated with indifference in spite of the stress laid by the Despatch on it. Cultivation and use of the mother-tongues as the media of instruction in schools and colleges had not been implemented even after the expiry of well-nigh a century. English is still dominating higher education and our life, being a natural and necessary evil. The development of a scheme of vocational training is provided indefinitely, and whatever vocational training is provided is insignificant in view of the growing demand of the honour".⁺¹ He further says, "The Despatch did not recognise the obligation of the State to educate every child below a certain age, it does not declare that poverty shall be no bar to the education of deserving students."⁺²

Following the receipt of this Despatch three universities were established in the Presidencies of Bengal, Bombay and Madras. The Department of Education, with its elaborate machinery of D. P. I. Inspectors and Assistant Inspectors, was set in each province. A system of grant-in-aid for private schools and colleges of each province was also introduced. Thus, it is manifest that Wood's Educational Despatch holds an eminent place in the history of Indian education. It analysed and discussed at length some contemporary basic problems pertaining to education. But in the changed circumstances of the country the Despatch lost all its significance and, with the growth of national consciousness, it was in the field of education that the

⁺¹ Pranjpay, *OP. cit.*

⁺² *Ibid.*

British Government was subjected to the most vehement condemnation.

The Despatch of 1854 carried forward all the defects or drawbacks of the 1835 policy. It paid a great deal of attention to the establishment of university and secondary education. It stressed the need to maintain the existing Government colleges and high schools and to increase their number where necessary. But as regards the elementary vernacular and indigenous schools, the Government only promised to pay "increased attention". The attitude of Government to the education of the masses may be characterised as one of indifference. But the Government discouraged his efforts towards the promotion of elementary and mass education. For instance, Ishwar Chander Vidyasagar had to struggle without any help from the Government. Further, the 'frank and cordial' support for female education did not materialise. The Government was satisfied with the establishment of the Bethune College for girls. But any other efforts for the cause of female education by individuals like Pandit Vidyasagar secured little help from the Government. Thus elementary mass education and female education were given the cold shoulder by the bureaucracy of the East India Company and the Crown. And what is more, the schools were at the mercy of the Government Inspector for grants-in-aid. It was on the report of the Educational Inspector that the increase or decrease of the grant depended. Moreover, the Inspector could also suggest the stopping of the grant to any school. This was harmful; for no school could carry out any experiment or have an independent curriculum which was not blessed by the Government Educational Inspector. The policy of the Government was to encourage English-teaching schools and to neglect the elementary, primary or indigenous schools. Therefore, more often than not, it was the

English-teaching school that received the grants; while the indigenous elementary schools were allowed to die neglected.

The Wood's Despatch, like the Despatch of 1814, scrupulously ignored the educational interest of the Muslims.⁺¹ In the eyes of the Government and the Board of Directors the education of the Muslims seems to have posed no problem; nor did they realise that the Muslims constituted a distinct national identity, possessing clear majority in certain important provinces like Bengal, Punjab, etc. The Muslims were also marked by certain national traits, intellectual characteristics and social distinctions, which raised them, head and shoulder, above the topmost sects of other communities. But they were, probably, for these very reasons, singled out for invidious discrimination and victimisation.

In the field of education the traditional institutions were being systematically destroyed, their products were debarred from entry into Government service and the only institution established for the Muslim on political grounds was denied facilities showered upon the numerous Hindu institutions for receiving modern western education, which was the main condition of recruitment for Government service. Stringent economic measures taken against Muslim zamindars, land-holders and aristocrats fell like a bolt from the blue upon the Muslims, who were already stunned and paralysed by the loss of their ruling authority in the country.

⁺¹ The authors of the Despatch were forced to admit that the education of the Muslims was most neglected and had directed the Government to submit proposals for the encouragement of Muslim education, but nothing was done to implement the directive of the Court of Directors. V. R. Taneja, "Educational Thought and Practice" p. 255.

The Despatch of 1854 and the Muslims.

The Education Despatch of 1854, which, in some respects, is rightly considered as a milestone in the history of English education in India as having "laid the foundation of a really universal system of education", took no notice of the Muslims' backwardness in education and devised the machinery of the distribution of grant-in-aid in such a way that the Muslims failed to take advantage of it.⁺¹ The rules of grant-in-aid were so framed that it gave impetus and encouragement to that section of the Hindus who had already taken strides in the progress of modern education. Another drawback for the Muslims was that early Government institutions were located in areas where Hindus dominated; while schools in East and North Bengal areas, with Muslim majorities, were set up much later than were those in Hindu West Bengal..... The Muslims were mostly peasants who lived in the interior of districts (far from zillah schools) where English schools came up only through private enterprise much later. This slow emergence of schools in these Muslim majority areas was, undoubtedly, to a great extent, responsible for the backwardness of the community in education.⁺²

The English Council of Education, which formulated and executed Government policy and plans in education, was composed of European members and a few Hindus who lived in Calcutta and knew nothing of the rural population of the country. How the Muslims were overlooked is illustrated by an incident that in the list of holidays for the schools in Bengal and Bihar, no Muslim festival had a place. "This neglect in a detail is typical of the Government's general neglect of the Muslims' special needs."⁺³

⁺¹ A. R. Mullick, *OP. cit.*, p. 230.

⁺² *Ibid.*, *OP. cit.*, pp. 257-76.

⁺³ *Ibid.*, *OP. cit.*, p. 276.

When we bear in mind that in the middle thirties of the nineteenth century the famous missionary Mr. Adam, as a result of his thorough, painstaking enquiries in Bengal and Bihar, had drawn the attention of the Government to the progressive decline of the traditional pattern of education in rural areas reducing the masses, specially Muslims to the depth of ignorance and poverty, and also had suggested definite constructive proposals for retrieving the miserable condition of the Muslims to no avail, the utter and callous indifference of the Government, as betrayed in all Educational Despatches from 1814 to 1854, seems most deplorable and vindictive. To impress the utility and importance of village schools in Bengal and Bihar and urging upon the Government the need of preserving and improving them, Mr. Adam writes in his second report, "The highest and lowest Muslim schools of the country..... all without exception..... present organisations which may be turned to excellent account for the gradual accomplishment of that important purpose (as instruments for the communication of pure and sound knowledge) and so to employ them would be the simplest, the safest, the most popular and the most economical and the most effectual plan for giving that stimulus to the native mind which it needs on the subject of education...."

Adam pleaded for adoption of special measures for the improvement and extension of instruction among the Muslims, the more so because "the poor and the uneducated formed "the most numerous portion of that population". He suggested ways and means for financing the plan of village schools. Among them were levying contribution from zamindars, utilisation of existing religious endowments and appropriation of Khasmahal lands for the creation of new endowments. He also developed the idea of making grants to village school-teachers to enable them to carry on the teaching

duty with peace of mind. In the end, Adam proposed that "if all other measures fail there is still one left, the general revenue of the country, on which the poor and the ignorant have a primary claim, a claim which is second to no other whatsoever, for from whence is that revenue derived but from the bones and sinews, the toil and sweat of those whose cause I am pleading".⁺¹

Adam even went to the extent of condemning "the appropriation by the State of the property belonging 'to the endowed Muslim institutions of learning' and its appropriation by private individuals". He opposed the practice of placing endowed property under the control of the Board of Revenue and recommended that "this class of institution should be placed under the General Committee of Public Instruction". He expressed the view that the displaced Qazis who had lost their position and function under the British Government could be turned into a useful and cheap agency for improving educational institutions of the Muslims.⁺²

In the words of Mr. A. R. Mullick, "These suggestions, if given effect to, could have gone a long way in educating the rural population. The improvement of the Muslim school of learning by grafting on them European knowledge, through the sacred language of the Muslims, which Adam suggested, would have met with co-operation and response from the higher class of Muslim population. The recommendation for Urdu schools and text-books to meet the requirements of a considerable section of the community, whose language was not Bengali or Hindi, was, undoubtedly, calculated to give immense impulse to the education of the Muslim masses, by offering to them a class of institution and

⁺¹ Adam's Second Report, p. 178, quoted by A. R. Mullick, OP. cit., p. 293.

⁺² A. R. Mullick, OP. cit., p. 225.

medium of instruction which was to their taste." But the Government was resolutely opposed to the spread of education among Muslims, whom they feared and hated; and among Indian masses for political reasons. Hence Adam's proposals were forthrightly rejected by Macaulay and were further buried by Lord Auckland so deep that even the sympathetic attitude of the 1854 Despatch could not infuse life into them.

The Government carried out the policy in the most faulty manner. On the one hand in spite of Mr. Thompson's successful experiment in sustaining the indigenous schools by grant-in-aid and even though, on the other, the Government appreciated and recognised his efforts, they did not follow up his method in other parts of the country. The indigenous schools were allowed to disappear at the rate of 600 to 700 a month.⁺¹ To compensate for the loss the Government opened some stray primary schools. These primary schools were given grants, which in the end led to the decrease of grants to secondary schools. The results were that the indigenous schools died out; aid to the secondary schools decreased; and the Government primary schools were too few to compensate for the loss. This led to the decrease of educational institutions and to that extent to the decrease in mass education. In his study on British Education in India, F. W. Thomas says, "Thus in the teeth of the Despatch of 1854 and 1859 the department had, while encouraging aided education of an elementary character, actually retarded the growth and, in some cases, reduced the extent of aid to secondary education."⁺²

The next important item of the Despatch of 1854 was the reference to the establishment of the universities

⁺¹ J. P. Nair, "A Review of Modern Education in India", p. 37.

⁺² F. W. Thomas, OP. cit., p. 69.

of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. It is striking to note that while on the one hand the indigenous and secondary schools were decreasing, on the other, the Government went forward at full speed with its programme of higher education.

Finally it must be noted that the disappearance of the elementary and primary schools to a great extent left the field open for secondary schools. English learning became more widely prevalent, and was considered respectable not because of its intrinsic value, but because it was a source of employment.⁺¹

The Despatch of 1854 could have been fully put into practice for the relations between the rulers and the ruled were quite cordial. But even during the years 1854 to 1857, the years before the first War of Independence, no efforts were made by the Government officers to implement its recommendations. After the bitter experience of 1857, it was impossible to expect the European bureaucracy to be interested in working out any scheme of education for the Indian people. And, therefore, between the years 1857 and 1882, nothing worth recording took place in the educational field in India. The plans and proposals, embodied in the Wood's Despatch, if properly followed up and scrupulously implemented, "India would have had a different history of education today".⁺² True, the Departments of Public Instruction were formed in every province. A network of graded schools was established at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. But the Government of India showed no eagerness in carrying through a vigorous programme of mass education in accordance with the instructions of the framers of the Despatch. The outcome was that "improved and sufficient number of primary

⁺¹ J. P. Naik and H. R. James, *OP. cit.*, p. 38.

⁺² V. R. Taneja, *OP. cit.*, p. 259.

schools did not come into existence throughout the nineteenth century".⁺¹ The recommendation of the promotion of modern Indian languages contained in the Despatch met the same fate.

Worse was the case of the Muslims, who had been aroused to the realisation of the importance of acquiring modern education and would have gladly welcomed any move on the part of the Government to liquidate illiteracy among them. But they were sadly disappointed. The Government completely ignored their educational interests, thus aggravating their feelings of frustration and bewilderment among the Muslim community. The conditions laid down for allocating grant-in-aid were such as to deprive them of taking advantage of this stimulus.

On the whole, there is much truth in the observations of Mr. A. R. Mullick (*OP. cit.*, p. 229) that the Despatch drew the "attention of the Government to the fact that the education of the masses was possible only through the Vernaculars English was to serve as the medium in the higher and Vernaculars in the lower branches of study".

"It is the extension of educational facilities to the people by the grant-in-aid system that marks the Despatch as of significant importance."

⁺¹ *Ibid.*, p. 258.

CHAPTER IX

The Calcutta Madrasah

Calcutta Madrasah. Its important role in the education of Muslims.

The history of education of the Muslims during the rule of the East India Company is closely linked with the foundation and growth of the Calcutta Madrasah, because it was the only institution, exclusively meant for the Muslims, to which they looked for educating their children. The knowledge of its history, in some detail, therefore, is necessary to understand the Government policy in relation to Muslim education, the handicaps which faced the Muslims in education, as well as Muslim attitude towards the acquisition of modern education under Government supervision.

Though founded in 1781, this institution failed to attract attention of the Government till 1791, when, as a result of complaints against some irregularities in the management and financial administration of the school, a Madrasah Committee was appointed. The syllabus was also redrafted and new subjects of practical utility were added to it. In 1812, Dr. Lumsden, the then Secretary, Bengal Government, recommended to the Government to appoint a European Superintendent, with a view to ensuring better control over teaching staff and give stimulus to the admission of students. But this proposal was not accepted. However, Dr. Lumsden was, with another Englishman, included in the Madrasah Committee. A few years later, the proposal was repeated, but, instead of granting it, the Government directed the Committee to effect economy in the Madrasah establishment and with the savings,

thus effected, to appoint a European officer without making his salary 'an additional burden on the funds of the Company'. This shows that the Company was indifferent to measures of improvements in the condition of the institution, and did not like to spare funds for this purpose. Towards Hindu Sanskrit College and other Hindu institutions the Government, on the contrary, had adopted a liberal policy.⁺¹

The Madrasah Committee, in the light of Government directive, curtailed expenditure and appointed Capt. Irvin as Secretary of the Madrasah. He was authorised to propose such measures of improvement, as he deemed desirable, to the Government; but far-reaching measures like the introduction of English language, European science and literature, for which there was a great demand, were to be left to the Government to be dealt with. Under Capt. Irvin's supervision the standard of teaching and discipline in the Madrasah developed and the Government expressed "no ordinary satisfaction" over the examinations conducted under new rules.

These improvements encouraged the Secretary, Mr. Lumsden, to suggest further reforms in the interest of the students and State alike. The Committee, endorsing his views, requested the Government to allow them to select better books in certain branches of science and in directing the labour of students into the channels more likely to be useful to themselves and the State.⁺² But the Government were not yet prepared to take any bold step in educational matters and were not anxious

⁺¹ "This economy in the wrong place was one of the weightiest considerations with the Government in all its dealings with the Calcutta Madrasah." A. R. Mullick "British Policy and the Muslims in Bengal", p. 177.

⁺² A. R. Mullick, OP. cit., p. 178.

Mullick of 'the one of encouraging the cause of English education in private institutions and the other of favouring Oriental Studies in its oldest institution, the Madrasah'.

The Madrasah Secretary, Lumsden, was now convinced of the absolute necessity of starting English classes in the Madrasah and, without waiting for the approval of the Government, he experimented with opening such classes unofficially. But this experiment failed for variety of reasons. His proposal for the appointment of an English teacher to the Committee received no favourable consideration, though a similar proposal for the Hindu Sanskrit College was recommended to the Government by the same Committee.

The problem of the introduction of English education in Madrasah, Hindu College and Sanskrit College continued to be discussed at different levels since the arrival of the Despatch of 1824. A new proposal—establishment of a new separate English College for the advanced students of the three Calcutta institutions—emerged out of these discussions. Side by side, an alternative proposal of improving the Hindu College to meet their requirements was also forwarded to the Directors. As was expected, the Directors turned down the plan of founding a separate college on the ground of paucity of funds and, instead, sanctioned the opening of new classes at the existing institutions. But the General Committee selected only the Hindu College, as the fittest institution, for higher English education. The Committee in its reports spoke highly of the rapid progress of this institution and increase in the number of its students. Thus the decision of the Directors and the way in which it was put in force indirectly helped the Hindus. Not only this, they expressed the erroneous conception which seems to be the belief of all the

Englishmen in India, that the Hindus were not only in majority in Calcutta but also they were a highly respectable section of the population and by reason of their superior 'intellectual character' they deserved to be singled out for all marks of favour and preference over other communities. This policy, which was calculated to confine Government choice for high appointments to the products of the Hindu College alone, proved harmful to the Muslims.⁺¹ The Government further laid down that education, specially higher education, should be limited to higher and middle classes of the people, from whom, it was assumed, it will filter down to all classes of people. But this hope was never realised. This step was also injurious to the Muslims, whose upper classes were violently shaken, politically as well as economically and socially, by the Revolution of 1757 and its aftereffects.

Mr. A. R. Mullick, the learned author of the 'British Policy and the Muslims in Bengal', in his dispassionate survey of the Muslim education in the 19th century in the Presidency of Bengal, where the Muslims formed a majority, cites facts and figures, scrupulously collected from official records, to demonstrate Government's patronage in the shape of grants and stipends to Hindu institutions in total disregard of the only Muslim institution in Calcutta. He remarks, "This liberal and generous treatment of the Hindu College, a private institution, by the Government is in sad contrast to the attitude of indifference and neglect hitherto shown

⁺¹ The Court of Directors issued orders with a view to stimulate the cultivation of the English language and useful knowledge in general among the natives..... by a marked preference to successful candidates at colleges, in the selection of persons to fill subordinate Government posts. As the Muslims were deprived of Government patronage in English education, this measure could scarcely stimulate them. A. R. Mullick, OP. cit., p. 185.

by them to Calcutta Madrasah, a Government institution Once the Hindu College was, thus, placed on a strong footing, the attention of the Committee was drawn by Wilson to the Sanskrit College." On his recommendation the Government sanctioned the services of Mr. Tytler to organise and teach a separate English class at the Sanskrit College. A Medical College was also added to it.⁺¹ Mr. Mullick further remarks that "the Government patronage was thus showered by the General Committee on the Hindu and Sanskrit Colleges, the Calcutta Madrasah, which had been the first in its demand for European sciences and English education, was left to languish with its stentorian courses of Oriental Studies".⁺²

"The Directors, at last, disgusted with the tortuous policy pursued by the Committee, were forced to admonish in 1829 the General Committee for having done nothing, in spite of the previous sanction for the establishment of a preparatory class to accomplish the highly desirable and important object of introducing the study of English language and literature into the principle seminary for the education of Mohammedan youths." The Committee could no longer postpone the matter and passed a resolution in March 1829 "that immediate steps be taken for establishing an English class in the institution".⁺³ Thus the English class was opened in the Madrasah. The Muslims, in spite of their poverty, took full advantage of this class and the number of students went on increasing; thus rebutting the statements of several British officials and members of the General Committee that the Muslims, for reason of their deep-seated prejudice, will never be disposed to take

⁺¹ A. R. Mullick, OP. cit., p. 185-86.

⁺² *Ibid.*, p. 187.

⁺³ A. R. Mullick, p. 187, with reference to the Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government, App. 1, p. 1.

advantage of facilities for acquiring modern knowledge, even if provided at the Calcutta Madrasah. But during the time that elapsed since the conferment of these honours to their more fortunate countrymen, the Hindus, especially the Bengalis, had taken lead in education and, as a result thereof, in administrative services, while the Muslims were left far behind.

It is clear from the facts, mentioned above, that Calcutta, which was only the centre of English and western education in the Bengal Presidency, the Muslims who cared for education, had no dislike for western education. But they were denied facilities because the only institution open to them received step-motherly treatment from the General Committee, which was mainly responsible for its bad internal management, defective course of studies and lack of adequate opportunities for Muslim children in gaining knowledge of English literature and modern sciences.

Another serious drawback in Muslim education was that the Company in early years had confined its educational efforts in Bengal to Calcutta alone, which possessed a large population of Hindus, who controlled the resources of wealth and influence. The East and North Bengal, where Muslims enjoyed overwhelming majority, received no attention from the Government. The Muslims of Murshidabad and Dacca submitted applications to the Government. But very little was done to satisfy their demand; only an institution for the children of the Nawab of Murshidabad was established. The Missionary schools could not attract Muslim boys for reasons of the books taught in them, which contained objectionable matter and abuse of Muslim religious leaders. The Muslims also feared lest their children should, by force of conversion, be converted to Christianity.

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⁺¹ A. R. Mullick, OP. cit., p. 185-86.

⁺² *Ibid.*, p. 187.

⁺³ A. R. Mullick, p. 187, with reference to the Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government, App. I, p. I.

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The obvious conclusion drawn from the above is that Muslim backwardness in education in Bengal and other places was largely the result of Government apathy and deliberate intention to keep the community bereft of facilities and opportunities to aspire to political advancement shoulder to shoulder with the Hindus. The much advertised short-sighted opposition of the 'Ulema' to European education, or the incurable prejudice of the Muslims as a whole is a pure concoction of British writers and historians to hide their own callous disregard of Muslim interests. Macaulay wrote in reply to the officers who held that Muslims were not interested in the study of English that "there is no good English school for the Musalmans; and one of our first duties is to establish one".⁺¹ Poverty, of course, was the prime factor in Muslims' backwardness in education, but this was also caused by the hostile attitude of the Company's officers who had deliberately adopted measures, of coercion, extortion and wholesale confiscation of endowments and free gifts and zamindaris of the Muslims.⁺²

Even in the face of all these and other handicaps, Muslim students flocked to the English class as soon as

⁺¹ Sharp. OP. cit., quoted by A. R. Mullick, p. 200.

⁺² Warren Hastings in 1785 made the following observations in his Minute, "Since the management of the revenues has been taken into our hands, it has chiefly been carried on by the English servants of the Company and by the Hindus. In consequence of this change, the Mohammedan families have lost their sources of private emoluments which would enable them to bestow much expense on education of their children and are deprived of their power, which they formerly possessed of endowing and patronising public seminaries of learning." That poverty was the main factor in retarding the progress of the Muslims in education is proved by the fact that enrolment of the Muslim students in the Madrasah as soon as fees were charged from each student was dropped.

was added to the Madrasah in consequence of repeated insistence and admonition of the Directors in the year 1829. Their number was increasing so steadily that a second teacher of English had to be added in 1830. The examiners in their reports bore testimony to the proficiency of the boys and remarked that "several of them appeared to have made more rapid progress in their studies than is usually with the English-born students after the same period of study".⁺¹ The progress of admissions and efficiency in English remained satisfactory up till 1832 and the institution was laid on the road to improvement and growth.

"But the General Committee of Education, as well as the Madrasah Committee, never stopped from introducing complications which, instead of accelerating or smoothening it, clogged the wheel of progress. In 1832, the Hindu boys were permitted to get admission to the school, which appears to be a curious concession to a community which had already two major institutions of its own under Government patronage."⁺² To add to the embarrassment of the Muslim boys, desirous of seeking education, notwithstanding the pecuniary plight of their parents, the Madrasah Committee decided that only those students would be entitled to get scholarship or stipend who studied both English and Arabic.⁺³ Discrimination was also made between Hindus and Muslims in Calcutta in respect of allowing the choice of subjects of their liking and in the courses of studies in various institutions. While in the Madrasah only the rudiments of the English language, Arithmetic, Geometry, etc., were taught; the students of the Hindu College were able to read the best authors in the English

⁺¹ A. R. Mullick, OP. cit., p. 189.

⁺² *Ibid.*, quoting Official Records and published letters.

⁺³ *Ibid.*

language and the subjects of Mathematics, Science and Natural Philosophy were taught with great success and proficiency in the Hindu and Sanskrit Colleges.⁺¹

An important stage in the study of English language, literature and science through English medium was reached, when the controversy over the medium of instruction between the Orientalists and Occidentalists was referred to the Governor-General-in-Council, Lord William Bentinck and the distinguished Member of the Council, Macaulay, was called upon to record his final say. Macaulay, in the course of discussion over this important issue, thrashed the whole problem of education in India and expressed his opinion that all institutions for the study of oriental learning should better be abolished. The people of Calcutta, both Hindus and Muslims, submitted separate representations to the Government in condemning this proposal in strong terms and pleading for the preservation and patronisation of the Calcutta Madrasah and Hindu College. The Muslim representation is said to have contained some 30,000 signatures. The petitioners stated that they were horrified to find in this proposal a clever move to destroy and eradicate their religion and culture and to prepare ground for thrusting the religion of those who were at the back of that proposal. The Hindus were more outspoken in their defence of the Hindu Sanskrit College. They also urged the Government to pay respect to Muslim sentiments and try to enlist the goodwill of the Musalmans, as it was through them and from them that the Government had got their Indian territories.⁺²

⁺¹ *Ibid.*

⁺² This application created the wrong impression that the Muslims as a community were prejudiced against English

(Continued on Page 185)

These representations had the desired effect. The Government lost no time in allaying the fears of the two communities by not abolishing the two institutions. But they were required to arrange for the teaching of English in both the institutions. Princep, a great Orientalist, championed the cause of Madrasah, in particular, against the assaults of Macaulay and others.

It seems desirable to take some more space to describe the progress or otherwise of the exclusive Muslim educational institution, the Calcutta Madrasah, which, in fact, reflected truly the progress and variation in the march of Muslim education in Bengal, before and after the passing of the resolution of 7th March 1835, by which English was made medium of teaching. The Muslims, being in majority in Bengal, led all other British provinces in educational efforts, specially English education.

(Continued from Page 184)

education and modern science. The British officers of those days and the later writers have laid the blame of the Muslim backwardness in education upon the community. Even a discerning and distinguished scholar like Justice Mahmud endorsed this view. In his well-known book, "History of English Education in India", he writes, "The Hindus were all eager for English education, whereas far different were the feelings of Muhammedans, whose attitude towards English education was anything but friendly." Mr. A. R. Mullick has taken exception to this view and says, "The petition was never a protest against English education. It was a protest against the abolition of the Madrasah. In the absence of any other exclusive institution for the Muslims, the anxiety of the community was but natural..... The love of the community for the Madrasah and the national literature it taught has been, thus, confused by Mahmud with antagonism towards English education." A. R. Mullick, OP. cit., pp. 104-5.

Under the able guidance and close vigilance of Mr. H. T. Princep, the Madrasah braved all risks of internal maladministration, indiscipline and meddling policy of the General Committee. Its affairs were satisfactorily handled, inefficient staff was removed, admissions were regularised and the tone of teaching was improved. But the teaching in the English class and progress of knowledge in English was far from being satisfactory. The Deputy Governor of Bengal, on the occasion of the Annual Prize Distribution, expressed his strong concern both over the lack of care in affording a sound English education and the insufficient sum spent for this purpose. He also remarked that "there was little progress in reconciling the higher orders of the Mohammedan people to the advantage of the English education".⁺¹ On the recommendations of the Deputy Governor, which were endorsed by Council of Education, which had taken the place of the General Committee, the Government sanctioned certain measures, which resulted in a considerable improvement in the teaching and discipline of the institution in 1839-40, which it proved several reports of British Inspectors who conducted annual examinations of the Madrasah.

The reforms introduced in the general administration and discipline of the Madrasah and the opening of the Colingah Branch School in a Muslim area of the town proved important factors to make the institution worthy of confidence of the Muslim gentlemen. The lowering of the tuition fee charged from the Muslim students joining English classes

⁺¹ A. R. Mullick, pp. 234-35, quoting 'Bengal Educational Consultations'.

worked as a great inducement, though the measure was subjected to a great deal of criticism. In the words of Mr. A. R. Mullick, "As a result of reforms introduced in the Madrasah and the opening of the Colingah Branch School, the Muslim community, specially of Calcutta, took now a surer road to progress in education."⁺¹

A. R. Mullick, OP. cit., p. 256.

		Hindu	Muslim
a. Indigenous Elementary Schools.	11	16
b. Indigenous Schools of higher learning	38	0
c. Families in which children received occasional instruction in reading and writing from parents or friends	1,277	311

⁺¹
TABLE I.—**Persian and Arabic Schools**—their number and the number of scholars, their caste and creed.

District	Persian Schools	Arabic Schools	Hindu Scholars	Muslim Scholars	Total
Murshidabad ...	17	2	62	47	109
Burdwan ...	93	8	477	494	971
Birbhum ...	71	2	245	245	490
Tirbut ...	234	4	445	153	598
South Bihar ...	279	12	867	619	1,486
Total :	694	28	2,096	1,558	3,654

⁺²
TABLE II.—**Vernacular Schools**—their number and the number of scholars, their caste and creed.

District	Bengali Schools	Hindi Schools	Hindu Scholars	Muslim Scholars	Others	Total
Murshidabad...	62	5	998	82	0	1,080
Burdwan ...	630	0	12,408	769	13	13,190
Birbhum ...	407	5	6,125	232	26	6,383
Tirbut ...	0	80	502	5	0	507
South Bihar ...	0	286	2,918	172	0	3,090
Total :	1,099	376	22,951	1,260	39	24,250

⁺¹ Table drawn up from facts and figures contained in Adam's Third Report, pp. 63–76.

⁺² Table prepared from facts and figures contained in Adam's Third Report, pp. 17, 24, 30 and 33.

TABLE I

Number of Students in Government Colleges and Schools on 30th April, 1841, by creeds (Report. G.C.P.I., 1840-41 and 1841-42, pp. 18–20).

Institutions	Hindus	Muslims	Others	Total
Bengal :				
Hindu College ...	557	0	0	557
Medical College ...	51	3	25	79
Madrasah ...	0	252	0	252
Sanskrit College ...	123	0	0	123
Hoogly College and Madrasah ...	735	325	16	1,076
Hoogly Branch School.	300	92	1	393
Hoogly Infant School ..	48	8	4	60
Seetapur School ...	75	0	0	75
Tirbeny School ...	97	0	0	97
Umerpur School ...	86	0	0	86
Bankura School ...	170	11	2	183
Jessore School ...	153	1	2	156
Dacca College ...	199	39	19	257
Comilla School ...	73	7	5	85
Chittagong School ...	94	6	8	108
Bauleah School ...	182	1	3	186
Carried Over ...	2,943	745	85	3,773

TABLE I—contd.

Institutions	Hindus	Muslims	Others	Total
Bengal—contd.				
B.F.	2,943	745	85	3,773
Barisal School ...	41	0	4	45
Sylhet School ...	73	2	1	76
Midnapur School ...	131	4	5	140
Total :	3,188	751	95	4,034
Bihar:				
Patna School ...	60	31	11	102
Bhagalpur School ...	57	4	1	62
Total :	117	35	12	164

TABLE II

Number of Students in Government Colleges and Schools on 30th April, 1846, by creeds (G.R.P.I., 1845-46, App. 4, pp. cl. — cil)

Institutions	Hindus	Muslims	Others	Total
Bengal :				
Medical College ...	45	2	20	67
Secondary School ...	10	90	0	100 (Native doctors trained for army service)
Hindu College ...	510	0	0	510
School Society's School	483	0	0	483
Pathsala ...	154	0	0	154
Sanskrit College ...	195	0	0	195
Madrasah ...	0	180	0	180
Russopaglah School ...	0	34	0	34 (School for Mysore Princes)
Hoogly College and Madrasah ...	552	182	13	747
Hoogly Branch School	254	37	4	295
Hoogly Infant School...	43	3	2	48
Seetapur School ...	79	0	0	79
Dacca College ...	263	18	21	302
Chittagong School ...	75	5	12	92
Comilla School ...	96	14	3	113
Carried Over ...	2,759	565	75	3,399

TABLE II—contd.

Institutions	Hindus	Muslims	Others	Total
Bengal—contd.				
B.F.	2,759	565	75	3,399
Sylhet School ...	42	2	4	48
Bauleah School ...	120	2	2	124
Midnapur School ...	142	9	1	152
Naziamat College ...	0	16	0	16
				(College for Murshidabad Princes)
Kishnagar School ...	283	3	3	289
Jessore School ...	59	2	0	61
Burdwan School ...	92	3	0	95
Bankura School ...	45	0	0	45
Barasat School ...	92	1	0	93
Howrah School ...	212	3	0	215
Total :	3,846	606	85	4,537
Bihar :				
Patna College ...	24	7	14	45
Bhagalpur School ...	67	22	37	126
Muzaffarpur School ...	27	3	2	32
Gaya School ...	16	14	0	30
Total :	134	46	53	233

TABLE III

Number of Students in Government Colleges and Schools on 30th September, 1852, by creeds (G. R. P. I., 1850-51, App. G. p. ccv.)

Institutions	Hindus	Muslims	Others	Total
Bengal :				
Hindu College ...	471	0	0	471
Patshala ...	216	0	0	216
Branch School ...	455	0	0	455
Sanskrit College ...	299	0	0	299
Madrasah ...	0	433	0	433
Hoogly College ...	389	6	2	397
Hoogly Branch School	160	2	2	164
Hoogly Madrasah ...	18	145	0	163
Hoogly Muktab ...	9	47	0	56
Meerapur Madrasah ...	0	40	0	40
Dacca College ...	323	29	31	383
Kishnagar College ...	205	7	1	213
Chittagong College ...	97	8	20	125
Comilla College ...	81	6	4	91
Sylhet College ...	80	11	1	92
Bauleah College ...	83	0	2	85
Midnapur College ...	117	7	1	125
Jessore College ...	96	7	0	103
Carried Over ...	3,099	748	64	3,911

TABLE III—*contd.*

Institutions	Hindus	Muslims	Others	Total
Bengal—contd.				
B.F.	3,099	748	64	3,911
Burdwan College ...	71	3	0	74
Bankura College ...	74	0	0	74
Barasat College ...	174	0	0	174
Howrah College ...	123	6	0	129
Uttarpara College ...	175	0	0	175
Barrackpur College ...	88	2	0	90
Russopaglah College ...	10	37	0	47
Total :	3,814	796	64	4,674
Bihar :				
Patna School ...	26	14	15	55
Bhagalpur School ...	61	20	33	114
Muzaffarpur School ...	21	2	0	23
Gaya School ...	60	10	7	77
Total :	168	46	55	269

TABLE IV

Number of Students in Government Colleges and Schools on 30th April, 1856, by creeds (G. R. P. I., 1855-56, App. D, pp. 5-7).

Institutions	Hindus	Muslims	Others	Total
Bengal :				
Bengal Presidency College ...	127	0	5	132
Hindu School ...	462	0	0	462
Chootollah School ...	567	0	4	571
Madrasah (Arabic) ...	0	59	0	59
Madrasah (A. P.) ...	0	111	0	111
Colingah School ...	124	15	4	143
Sanskrit College ...	339	0	0	339
Pathshala ...	345	0	0	345
Medical College ...	148	96	34	278 (including doctors)
Hoogly College ...	455	7	6	468
Hoogly Madrasah ...	4	175	0	179
Hoogly Br. School ...	169	8	0	177
Dacca College ...	390	24	41	455
Kishnagar College ...	240	7	0	247
Bahrampur College ...	227	10	5	242
Howrah School ...	229	3	4	236
Uttarpara School ...	203	0	0	203
Carried Over ...	4,029	515	103	4,647

TABLE III—contd.

Institutions	Hindus	Muslims	Others	Total
Bengal—contd.				
B.F.	3,099	748	64	3,911
Burdwan College ...	71	3	0	74
Bankura College ...	74	0	0	74
Barasat College ...	174	0	0	174
Howrah College ...	123	6	0	129
Uttarpara College ...	175	0	0	175
Barrackpur College ...	88	2	0	90
Russopaglah College ...	10	37	0	47
Total :	3,814	796	64	4,674
Bihar :				
Patna School ...	26	14	15	55
Bhagalpur School ...	61	20	33	114
Muzaffarpur School ...	21	2	0	23
Gaya School ...	60	10	7	77
Total :	168	46	55	269

TABLE IV

Number of Students in Government Colleges and Schools on 30th April, 1856, by creeds (G. R. P. I., 1855-56, App. D, pp. 5—7).

Institutions	Hindus	Muslims	Others	Total
Bengal :				
Bengal Presidency College ...	127	0	5	132
Hindu School ...	462	0	0	462
Colootollah School ...	567	0	4	571
Madrasah (Arabic) ...	0	59	0	59
Madrasah (A. P.) ...	0	111	0	111
Colingah School ...	124	15	4	143
Sanskrit College ...	339	0	0	339
Pathsala ...	345	0	0	345
Medical College ...	148	96	34	278 (including native doctors)
Hoogly College ...	455	7	6	468
Hoogly Madrasah ...	4	175	0	179
Hoogly Br. School ...	169	8	0	177
Dacca College ...	390	24	41	455
Kishnagar College ...	240	7	0	247
Bahrampur College ...	227	10	5	242
Howrah School ...	229	3	4	236
Uttarpara School ...	203	0	0	203
Carried Over ...	4,029	515	103	4,647

TABLE IV—*contd.*

Institutions		Hindus	Muslims	Others	Total
Bengal—contd.					
	B.F.	4,029	515	103	4,647
Midnapur School	...	145	10	0	155
Birbhum School	...	104	10	0	114
Bankura School	...	146	1	0	147
Bauleah School	..	129	5	0	134
Russopaglah School	...	40	63	0	103
Barasat School	...	192	3	0	195
Barrackpur School	...	116	2	0	118
Jessore School	...	134	5	2	141
Patna School	...	144	4	0	148
Faridpur School	...	102	4	0	106
Barisal School	...	209	22	3	234
Comilla School	...	93	16	7	116
Noakhali School	...	66	1	4	71
Chittagong School	...	166	42	14	222
Bogra School	...	85	6	0	91
Dinajpur School	...	114	8	4	126
Mymensingh School	...	167	9	8	184
Sylhet School	...	157	5	2	164
Total :		6,338	731	147	7,216

TABLE IV—*concl.*

Institutions		Hindus	Muslims	Others	Total
Bihar :					
Patna School	...	103	26	14	143
Patna Br. School	...	63	34	2	99
Arrah School	...	62	18	4	84
Gaya School	...	163	30	3	196
Munghir School	...	57	20	7	84
Bhagalpur School	...	154	21	0	175
Purnea School	...	34	10	0	44
Muzaffarpur School	...	74	30	5	109
Chapra School	...	65	13	2	80
Total :		775	202	37	1,014

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